ONTARIO HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY OF CANADA



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HISTORY OF CANADA


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ONTARIO
HIGH SCHOOL
HISTORY OF CANADA

BY

W. L. GRANT, M.A.

PRINCIPAL OF UPPER CANADA COLLEGE, TORONTO

AUTHORIZED BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION
FOR ONTARIO

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PREFACE

The writer of a History of Canada which is to be used by teachers and pupils differing widely in religion, in racial origin, and in party affiliations, must avoid alike the obtrusion of his own prejudices and predilections, and the presentation of a story colourless and insipid. How far I have been successful I must leave to my readers to say.

I venture to call the attention of any teacher who may use my book to:

1. Its maps, which show how closely our history has been conditioned by our geography.

2. Its Table of Contents, in which a rough attempt has been made to show the trend of events and their relative importance.

I gratefully acknowledge my obligations to many friends for helpful suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are especially due to Dr. A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., of the Dominion Archives, and to John Ross Robertson, Esq., of Toronto, for permission to reproduce rare paintings and engravings.

W. L. GRANT

PRIME MINISTERS OF CANADA

(*Date of Appointment*)

Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald	July 1, 1867
Hon. Alexander Mackenzie	Nov. 7, 1873
Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald	Oct. 17, 1878
Hon. Sir John J. C. Abbott	June 16, 1891
Rt. Hon. Sir John S. D. Thompson	Dec. 5, 1892
Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell	Dec. 21, 1894
Hon. Sir Charles Tupper	Jan. 15, 1896
Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier	July 11, 1896
Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden	Oct. 10, 1911
Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen	July 10, 1920

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF ONTARIO

(*Date of Appointment*)

Major-General H. W. Stisted	July 1, 1867
Hon. W. P. Howland	July 14, 1868
Hon. John Crawford	Nov. 5, 1873
Hon. D. A. Macdonald	May 18, 1875
Hon. John Beverley Robinson	June 30, 1880
Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell	Feb. 8, 1887
Hon. George A. Kirkpatrick	May 30, 1892
Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat	Nov. 18, 1897
Hon. Sir William Mortimer Clark	April 20, 1903
Hon. Sir John M. Gibson	Sept. 22, 1908
Hon. Sir John Hendrie	Sept. 24, 1914
Hon. Lionel Herbert Clarke	Nov. 27, 1919

PREMIERS OF ONTARIO

(*Date of Appointment*)

Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald	July 16, 1867
Hon. Edward Blake	Dec. 20, 1871
Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat	Oct. 31, 1872
Hon. Arthur Sturgis Hardy	July 14, 1896
Hon. Sir George William Ross	Oct. 21, 1899
Hon. Sir James Pliny Whitney	Feb. 7, 1905
Hon. Sir William Howard Hearst	Oct. 2, 1914
Hon. Ernest Charles Drury	Nov. 14, 1919

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A HISTORY OF CANADA

CHAPTER I

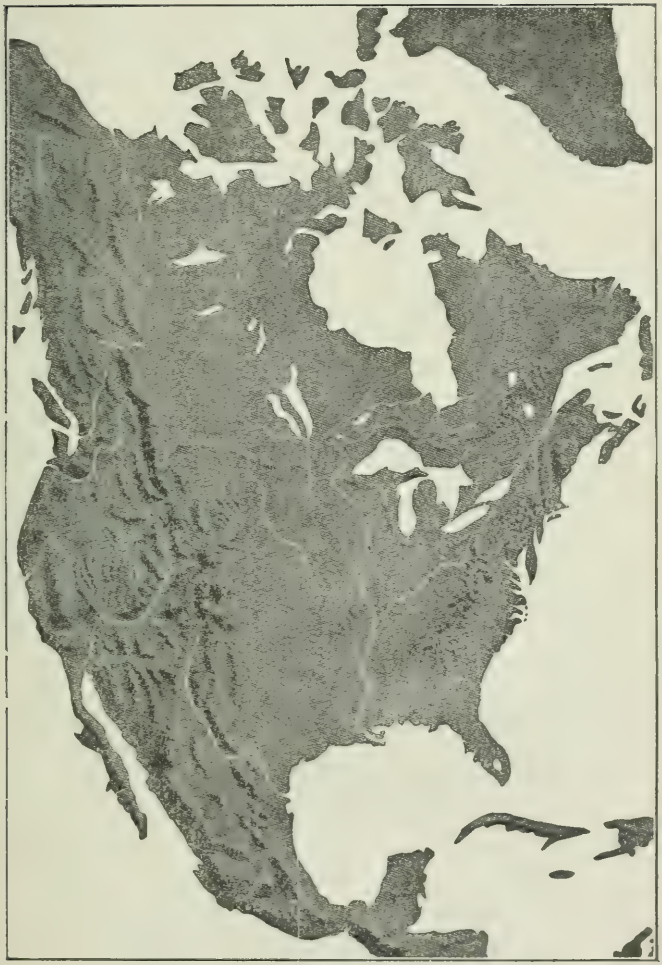
THE COUNTRY

Its Extent.—The name Canada has had very different meanings at different times. At one time it meant only the north shore of the St. Lawrence River from the Ottawa River to the Saguenay; at another time it took in all the territory between the rivers Ohio and Mississippi, now the rich American states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin; for many years it included only the area now comprised in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. To-day it comprises the whole of British North America, except Newfoundland and a little strip of Labrador on our north-east coast. Only recently has it come to have so wide a meaning; and as we read we must always be very careful to remember what was meant at the time by those who used the word.

On looking at the map we are forcibly struck by the vast size of our country. Our most southerly point is farther south than the capital of Italy; our northern boundary is hundreds of miles north of the Magnetic Pole; on the east, the "long wharf" of Cape Breton invites the argosies of Europe; on the west, we look out, not without wonder and anxiety, to the awakening East. Our territory covers over 3,500,000 square miles, an area almost as large as that of the whole of Europe.

Its Diversity.—Yet for all her vastness Canada is only part of the North American Continent, and has no great natural boundaries separating her from the United States. Compare her with Great Britain. In that island there were for hundreds of years three nations; but the country was so essentially one that geography conquered man, and England, Scotland, and Wales united to form Great Britain. In Canada, however, man has conquered geography. If to-day we were to divide North America into three nations, no one would give Canada the boundaries which she has at present. The boundary between us and the United States is for the most part an imaginary line. Geographically, each part of our country is more closely bound to some part of the United States than it is to its neighbouring part of Canada. Canada owes her unity, not to geography, but to the strong hearts of her sons, and the long line of historic incident which has made them what they are. Let us first look at the geography which we had to conquer, and then we shall be better able to understand the history which has knit us together in spite of it.

The Chief Divisions.—If a celestial visitor, seated in upper air, could look down on North America spread out before him, what would he see? Along the Atlantic Ocean, a narrow, flattish plain, rising into an irregular series of mountain ranges and plateaux known as the Appalachian Range. Beyond this another plain, filling the whole centre of the Continent, would meet his eye. Going closer, he would see that this great plain was furrowed in different directions by mighty rivers. Going still closer, he would find that it was not really flat, but ascended in gradual tiers, so that Regina is over 1000 feet higher above the sea level than Winnipeg, and Calgary over 1000 feet higher than Regina. At the western end of this plain his eye



Relief Map of North America

would be caught by a tumbled mass of giant mountains, much higher than the Appalachians, hardly ever less than 500 miles wide, shouldering its way to the very edge of the Pacific. Nowhere in any of these four great divisions would he find a break telling him where Canada began. The Atlantic Plain stretches up from Florida to Cape Breton; the Appalachians extend from Georgia to Cape Chidley; the Great Central Plain spreads without a break from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean; so far is the Canadian boundary from breaking the chain of the western mountains, that at that very point the Cordillera, as it is called, is especially knotty and tangled. At most our celestial observer would see along the eastern edge of the Great Plain, about half-way between its northern and southern limits, a series of lakes connected by short rivers, and, by a lucky guess, might think them to be what they are—part of a boundary line. But for the greater part of his survey, he would see each of the four parts of Canada joined to a corresponding part of the United States. More than that, he would realize that the mountains interpose between the fertile plains; that it is easier to go from Nova Scotia or New Brunswick into Maine than into Quebec; easier to go from Winnipeg to New Orleans than to Halifax or Vancouver; and if he takes the sea into his consideration, Halifax will appear naturally joined to Portland or Boston, and Vancouver to Tacoma or Seattle.

The Rivers.—Has Canada then no natural unity? Indeed she has, and the kind of unity is shown by her rivers. Except for an insignificant fraction, the whole of Canada lies on the northern slope of the Continent, and drains into the North Atlantic, Arctic, and North Pacific Oceans. No country in the world has such a

network of interlocking lakes and streams as Canada, but they all unite in a few great systems, and, by their general direction, show the real unity of the country, and stamp it as the land of the North.

The St. John.—In the Maritime Provinces, crowded in between the sea and the mountains, the rivers, like those of the New England States, cannot rise far inland, though the St. John, with its 400 miles of varied scenery and splendid volume of water, is as large as many of the most famous streams of the Old World—as large as the Rhine or the Seine, and larger than the Thames or the Severn.

The St. Lawrence.—The first great stream, by which the early travellers were led on and ever on into the heart of the continent, is the St. Lawrence, which drains the Great Lakes. Its basin, lying largely in Canada, has an area of over 500,000 square miles. Long before the Lachine Rapids or the Falls of Niagara had been surmounted by canals, the Indian on the mountain's slope, where Montreal now is, had learned that here was a water-way by which he could go nearly 3,000 miles to the farther end of a great inland sea; while eastward from Montreal he could descend the estuary of the river, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, for almost 1,000 miles before he reached the ocean.

The Hudson Bay Basin.—North and west of the St. Lawrence lies the vast area which is drained into Hudson Bay. It is estimated to contain about 1,485,000 square miles, of which all but 13,000 are in Canada. Within this great basin is the Saskatchewan River, which rises in the Rockies and flows easterly to the Winnipeg system of lakes drained by the Nelson, the whole forming a river system 1,600 miles long. North of the Saskatchewan lies the Churchill River, which with its tributaries has a total length of about 1,300

miles. The great inland sea of Hudson Bay thus gives unity to the whole central portion of Canada. It is true that the prairies of Canada are a part of the Great Central Plain; but it is also true that the forty-ninth parallel of latitude—our boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains—coincides wonderfully with the watershed separating the streams which flow into Hudson Bay from those which form the head-waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri. On our boundary a man may stand within sight of the head-waters of the Missouri and the South Saskatchewan, streams which reach oceans a continent apart.

The North and West.—North and north-west of the basin of Hudson Bay, and between it and the mountains, lies an area of about 1,200,000 square miles, drained into the Arctic Ocean chiefly by the Mackenzie River and its tributaries. Of these the great Peace River rises on the western side of the mountains, cuts its mighty way through them, and a little north of Lake Athabaska joins the Slave River, which is really part of the Mackenzie. The Peace River Pass, as its valley through the Rockies is called, is broader and lower than the passes farther south, and will no doubt some day be used by a great trans-continental railway. West of the mountains, the rivers, such as the Fraser and the Thompson, run fiercely through deep and narrow valleys, and do not drain much country; but in the north the Yukon, though mainly an Alaskan stream, drains an area in Canada of almost 150,000 square miles.

The Portages.—Yet though Canada lies almost entirely on the northern slope, and though our rivers give us unity, we have only to look at the map to see how they interlock with those to the south, and we shall soon find that, in early days, it was along the rivers red man and white went north and south on the war-

path or on the fur trail. So closely did the rivers interlock that by short portages between them the Indians could cross the mountains, or go from one end of the continent almost to the other. Let us look at a few of the more important routes by which they went to and fro, before the days of railways and canals. In doing so, let us remember that many of these routes were so well chosen that, when the railway superseded the canoe and the wagon, it was along the old trail that the line was run.

On the east the Indian or the voyageur could go up the Kennebec River in what is now the state of Maine, carry his canoe for a few miles, and then come down the Chaudière to the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec. Farther west the back of the Appalachian Range was broken by the Hudson River, so that he could go up the Hudson to Lake George, thence into Lake Champlain, and thence by the Richelieu River into the St. Lawrence at Sorel. Or he could leave the Hudson near the present town of Albany, ascend its tributary the Mohawk, make a short portage to Oneida Lake, and thence by the Oswego River reach Lake Ontario. Farther west he could pass by different routes from the St. Lawrence system to the Mississippi system, and thus after crossing half a continent come out in the Gulf of Mexico. From the western end of Lake Erie, where is now the town of Toledo, he could ascend the Maumee, and then by a portage of about ten miles reach the Wabash, a tributary of the Ohio; another well-worn trail led from the little river Chicago to the Illinois; farther west he could leave Lake Michigan at Green Bay, paddle down the Fox River, make a short portage, and be in the Wisconsin, thence to float down to the Mississippi. Later you will find that each of these routes has played an important part in history

and in exploration. Still farther west there were many portages of which we shall speak when we tell of the great days of the Canadian fur-trade. But these were all in or near Canadian territory, and did not connect us with our neighbours to the south.

Flora and Fauna.—These rivers and the narrow trails which joined them were the great roads. Save for a few small clearings made in the forest by the Indians, the appearance of the land had been unchanged by man. On both oceans the country was wooded to the water's edge. Ontario and Quebec, and the American States to the south of them, were densely wooded with pine and spruce and tamarack and fir, and the hardwoods, beech and ash and walnut and maple and elm. In these forests roamed many fur-bearing animals, wolves and bears and foxes and the other animals which still make Canada a great fur-producing country. On the plains, north almost to the Arctic Circle, roamed herds of bison, or buffalo, great wild cattle, which to the Indian of the plains were all in all. They supplied him with meat and leather, and skins to build his house, and robes to wear, and sinews for string, and hunting almost as glorious as war. Once they had roved as far south as the Gulf of Mexico, and as far east as the edge of the Appalachians. By the time of the coming of the white man, they had been driven farther north and farther west, but they were still to be counted in millions.

CHAPTER II

THE ABORIGINES.

The Indians.—When the white man first came to our country, over the greater part of it ranged small bands of dark-skinned men of good features and athletic form. Christopher Columbus and the first explorers were seeking a westward path to Asia when they stumbled upon the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and thinking that they had reached the outskirts of India they called the inhabitants Indians. From the islands the name spread to the mainland, and this mistake has led to the native inhabitants of North America bearing the same name as the very different inhabitants of a very different country. Later on the French called them the Red Skins, and they are sometimes known as the Red Indians ; but there is really very little red in their colour, save sometimes when the blood in their cheeks shows through, just as it often does through those of a white man, and the name may have been given not because of their natural colour, but because of the red ochre with which they daubed their faces before going out to war. They were divided into many bands or tribes, but their numbers were not large; when the white man came it is probable that, in the whole region now called the Dominion of Canada, there were not more than 200,000 people.

Their Origin.—Whence did they come? In shape of head and in certain features, such as the high cheek-bones, the Indians resemble the Mongolians, and many think that they are of the Mongolian race—that is, of the

same stock as the people of China and Japan—and suppose them to have come across by way of the Aleutian Islands and Bering Strait, or to have been shipwrecked on the Pacific Coast. We cannot be certain, but many students now think that they were a race native to North America, who originated on the Atlantic Coast and spread west and south in the course of the centuries.

The Mound-Builders.—Were the Indians the earliest inhabitants of our country? Scattered over the Continent, mainly in the United States, are found mounds of earth of various shapes and sizes, some round, some conical, some long and low like the earthworks of a fort. They are from three to ninety feet in height and from fifty to nine hundred feet long. Formerly these were thought to have been the work of a race which lived before the coming of the Indians, and many sad stories were told of the disappearance of the peaceful Mound-Builders before the fierce onset of the savage. But of recent years many of the mounds have been opened and the pieces of pottery and implements which they contain have been examined. These are exactly similar to those used by the Indians, in some cases after they had begun to trade with the white man. So we are safe in concluding that the silent, vanished race of the Mound-Builders is a fable of the poets, and that the mounds were erected for various purposes by the Indians themselves.

The Algonquins.—The Indians first met by the white men were of the great Algonquin stock, which stretched in a wide sweep from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the base of the Rocky Mountains. Of this stock were the Micmacs in Acadia, and the Abenakis in Maine, whom the early French explorers knew under the names of Souriquois and Etechemins. Upon both banks of the lower St. Lawrence, extending toward the north,

were the Montagnais, or Mountaineers, a degraded band who often in time of famine descended to cannibalism. On Allumette Island, on the Upper Ottawa, were the Nation of the Isle, who claimed to be the true and original Algonquins, and the Nipissings. Beyond these, along the shores of Lake Superior, were the hardy Ojibways; farther west, on the plains, were their kinsmen, the Crees; and still farther west, at the base of the Rockies, the Blackfeet.

The Athapascans, Etc.—North and west of the Algonquins, along the Mackenzie River and extending into Alaska, were the Athapascan family. Along the Pacific Coast were numerous scattered tribes, living on the seashore and along the river banks. They belonged to several different families, and spoke many different dialects.

The Huron-Iroquois.—Less numerous than the Algonquins, but more interesting, were the Huron-Iroquois. These had originally been one race, but had separated, and were now deadly enemies. At the time of the coming of the French the Huron nation, in number about 20,000, lived on the shores of Lake Huron and Geor-



WESTERN INDIAN CHIEF

gian Bay. To the same stock belonged several smaller tribes on or near Lake Erie, the Neutrals, the Tobacco nation, the Eries, and the Andastes.

But the savages with whom the French and English were to have most to do were the Iroquois, a confederacy of five tribes or nations, who dwelt along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, from the Hudson to the Genesee, in the lovely meadow land where many a lake and stream still bears its Indian name. Iroquois is a French word of uncertain meaning. By themselves they were called "the people of the Long House," either from the long, narrow strip of territory in which they dwelt, or from the great lodge where met their central council. Counting from east to west, the names of the Five Nations were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when they had been weakened by warfare, they adopted into their ranks the Tuscaroras, a kindred tribe, who after hard fighting had been driven out of North Carolina by the English settlers.

The Iroquois League.—Although the tribes were as a rule small, alliances were often made which enabled them to muster large bands. Of these the most interesting were those of the Blackfeet and the Iroquois, which grew into permanent leagues. The Blackfoot confederacy is interesting because two Algonquin tribes, the Bloods and the Piegans, had added to themselves a northern Athapascan tribe, the Sarcees. The Iroquois had done something much more wonderful, and had solved many of the most difficult questions of government. The savage is proverbially fickle; his empires are usually held together only by a despot, on whose death they break up. Yet here we find five tribes living together for centuries in a permanent confederacy, united in peace and in war, yet each retaining its separate

identity. No decision was given by the great central council till unanimity was reached. Each member of the tribe had great individual liberty, but reverence was paid to the chiefs, and to the older men, and the decisions of these were always unhesitatingly obeyed. Though chieftainship tended to go from father to son, the rule was not absolute. Bravery on the war-path or eloquence in the council chamber, could bring the simplest warrior to the front. No state ever more fully realized Napoleon's ideal of "a career open to talent."

They had at first been less warlike than the Algonquins. But about a century before the white man came, they had begun to form a union. Gradually they learned the value of discipline, and, once they had learned that union is strength, they became more than a match for their enemies. Though they never mustered more than 3,000 warriors, they founded an empire. The splendour and the terror of their name was in all men's mouths from Hudson Bay to the Ohio; still in the nineteenth century, when their power was long broken, the Micmac mother hushed her babe with the dreaded name of the Iroquois; southward they knew no rival until they met the Cherokee tribe in what is now the state of Tennessee; westward their bands hunted and ravaged till they reached the Mississippi and were hurled back by their kinsmen, the Sioux.

Another proof of the political genius of the Iroquois is the way in which they made use of a universal Indian custom to suit their own special needs. All the Indian tribes were divided into families, which were in turn united into clans. By a cross division the Five Nations were divided into eight clans, of which the three most important were those of the Bear, the Tortoise, and the Wolf, each being known by the name of its sacred animal, which formed its totem or coat of arms. The members

of each clan were spread through the Five Nations, were to each other like brother and sister, and were forbidden to marry. Thus a custom which had the object of preventing the marriage of relations, was used by the Iroquois to link the separate nations together; it had also a religious side, the Iroquois in a vague way recognizing that men and animals were filled with the same spirit of life.



Blackfoot Chief and Subordinate Chiefs

War.—All these tribes differed widely in occupation, usually in accordance with the part of the country in which they dwelt. The Algonquin tended to be a nomad and a hunter, the Iroquois to live in settled villages and to give more attention to the tillage of the soil. But one occupation was common to them all—the game

of war. The Pacific Coast Indians, smaller and slighter than those of the east, enjoyed intervals of peace; but the Athapascans, the Algonquins, and the Iroquois were for ever at variance. In none of the tribes was there anything like what we now call conscription; the tribesman went to war or stayed at home as he saw fit; but so strong was the love of fighting that whenever the chiefs of the tribe had decided to take the war-path, the difficulty was not to find recruits, but to keep them back.

Their Way of Fighting.—Though some of the Indians of the plains used spears or lances, the usual weapons were the bow and arrows, a short axe or hatchet known as the tomahawk, and a war club. They carried shields, and in some cases wore armour of wicker mesh. Though they knew the use of copper and could even temper it to some extent, an art which the white man has lost, they had no knowledge of iron, and the heads of their arrows and axes were made of flint or stone. The coming of the white man soon made many changes. Stone and copper gave way to iron; the leather or wooden shield and the wicker armour were cast aside, vain against the deadly bullet. Their fighting had always been largely a matter of surprise and of ambush, carried on with the same stealth as their hunting; with the coming of the white man this method became universal among the woodsmen. On the plains the Indian was bolder. Before the coming of the white man the horse had been unknown. But those imported by the Spaniards soon multiplied, and the Indian became an expert horseman. More than once, even in the nineteenth century, he met the white man face to face in a fierce cavalry charge. It was in such a mad onrush of the Sioux that Custer, the great Indian fighter of the United States, was killed less than forty years ago (1876).

After the battle the dead enemies were scalped by the victors, and no Indian warrior was so proud as he who could draw aside his blanket and show the long scalp-locks of his foes hanging at his waist. To prisoners taken in war they were usually cruel. Sometimes, if the losses in the fight had been severe, they were made up by the adoption of prisoners; but more usually the only fate in store for the captive was torture and death.

The Arts of Peace.—Yet they did not disdain the arts of peace, and all the tribes had lifted themselves more or less above primitive barbarism. The Algonquins and Athapascans lived by hunting and fishing. Such vegetable food as they had consisted almost entirely of the wild roots, plants, and berries which grow in such profusion during the Canadian summer. The Huron-Iroquois were more advanced, and could show well-tilled fields of corn, with yellow pumpkins shining between the rows. Wheat they do not seem to have known till the white man came. The Indians of the Pacific Coast lived mainly by fishing for salmon and the other fish which abound in the coast waters, and by hunting such aquatic animals as the seal and the sea-otter.

Their clothes were made of leather, which the women beat out into sheets as flexible as cloth. Household utensils and ornaments were carved of wood, copper, stone, and horn. The women wove baskets with great skill, the art of making pottery was wide-spread, and on the Pacific Coast was practised with real skill. East of the Rocky Mountains the usual means of travel was the birch-bark canoe. On the Pacific this was replaced by the dug-out, a clumsy boat made by hollowing out a single tree, and propelled either by paddles or, in a fair wind, by small sails.

A great feature of the life of the Indian of British Columbia was the potlatch. This was a ceremony at

which the Indian gathered his friends, made them presents, and gave a feast. Often in the desire to give a big potlatch, he would go into debt, or spend all his store for the winter. But though it sometimes led to extravagance, it had also a good side, not only because it promoted hospitality, but because it was their method of borrowing articles of food, or implements of various sorts. To the Coast Indian the potlatch fulfilled the three objects performed for us by a dinner party, a general store, and a bank.

Houses.—When not on the war-path the Indian lived in villages, scattered here and there in places where wood and water were available. The Iroquois and the eastern Algonquins lived in large wooden houses, often from fifty to one hundred and twenty feet long, and fifteen to twenty feet wide. These were divided into compartments, each occupied by a family. On the Pacific Coast these houses were made of rough-hewn cedar planks, and were sometimes over forty feet square. On the plains, where wood was scarce, the place of the wooden lodge was taken by a tent of skin, usually holding only one family, though occasionally two or three. In the Rocky Mountains skin tents were used in summer, but in the winter were replaced by underground lodges, great holes three or four feet deep, covered with the branches or bark of trees.

Manners and Customs.—Freedom marked the life of the Indian from his earliest days. Children were rarely punished and never whipped. Women were held in higher honour than is usually the case with savages. They had almost complete control of the house and, though a woman could not herself speak in the council, she could delegate any man to utter her wishes. Yet even so the lot of the squaw was a hard one. Few of the men gave her any help in the house or in

the fields, deeming work unworthy of a warrior. She was a drudge, though a willing one. Nothing was done under compulsion, but everything by consent and after full deliberation. The chief had little power save what was freely accorded him. But though there was no compulsion, public opinion was so strong that neither chief nor child would venture to disobey it.

The Indian had a very strict code of manners. In public he was haughty and dignified. When an Indian chief in the council rose to speak, with the splendid, fearless bearing of one who knows no will save his own, no lord save the war-chief of his own choosing, he spoke with a grandeur of language which recalls the speeches of the Greek heroes in Homer. To display any emotion was considered the mark of a woman. Cases are known of an Indian tortured by fire all through the night, and making no sound save to sing his death song or throw scornful taunts at his butchers. But when at home the Indian threw off his gravity. In the wigwam he was cheerful, talkative, gossipy; fond of telling stories and of making jokes; fond of games of chance and of skill.

Religion.—Indeed, his love of inflicting torture was only one sign that his nature was really nervous and hysterical. This we see clearly in his religion. It was a religion full of motion and of noise. Dancing played a prominent part in it—a dance when he took the war-trail, a dance of rejoicing when he came home, a dance on every great occasion of his life. Among the Blackfeet the great ceremony was the sun dance, when the young men came of age and were to be initiated into full membership in the war-band. Only the men took part. At first the motion was harmonious and slow, but soon the swirl and rush of their feathers and draperies, and the rhythmic stamp of their feet, roused them to

wilder and wilder cries and gestures. The dancers were roused to madness, and the mad whirl did not stop till the hardiest dropped exhausted.



INDIAN MEDICINE MAN

According to the Indian, everything was done by a spirit, and the great object of his religion was to win the aid of as many of these spirits as possible. As among all savage tribes, great importance was attached to dreams, by which the spirits were supposed to reveal themselves. Sometimes on the war-path the whole expedition would be given up, or the route changed, because of the vivid dream of one member of the band. Certain members of the tribe were supposed to be especially skilled in knowing the will of the spirits and in holding converse with them. These held the combined office of doctor and priest. The usual translation of their Indian title is medicine-man. When an Indian fell ill, his sickness was ascribed to the action of a spirit, and the medicine-man would go aside into his little lodge, and there with shrieks and howlings endeavour to placate or drive away the spirit which had done the harm. Such was the condition into which the medicine-man would lash himself

that he would emerge from the lodge all covered with sweat, or sometimes would roll on the ground in a fit, foam streaming from his mouth.

Had they reached the idea that there was a Great Spirit, an All-Father? It is very difficult to say, for to the first explorers and missionaries they used words in one sense which the good priests understood in another. The sough of the night winds in the pines, the sun that scorched them, the driving rain, the release of the year from the grasp of winter, and the great awakening of the spring-time, all told them of mighty powers above their understanding; but for the thought of an All-ruling Father they were indebted to the missionaries. Each tribe had, however, its legendary hero, or ancestor, who after this life had gone over to the spirit world, and there watched over his descendants. Among the Algonquins this hero was called Manabozho; among the Iroquois, Hiawatha. Around him the imagination of the tribe gathered a wonderful collection of stories. The poet Longfellow has told many of these in his beautiful poem "Hiawatha," though with a poet's license he has attributed to the Iroquois hero many of the deeds ascribed by the Algonquins to Manabozho. In this hero, with all his greatness, there was always an element of the trickster. He did not think it wrong to do the most undignified and ridiculous things, to turn himself into a bird or a beast, to lie or be treacherous, if by so doing he could advantage himself. The Indian love of stratagem and ambush is ascribed by them even to their gods.

The Eskimo.—There is still, as there was when the white man came, another race in the country. Along the bleak shores of Labrador and of the Arctic dwelt a people known by us as the Eskimo, from an Algonquin word meaning "Eaters of raw flesh," though they always

call themselves the Innuit, or "The People." They have the usual characteristics of the northern races, such as the Laps and the Samoyeds of Europe and Asia, and are sometimes thought to have migrated from eastern Asia, across Bering Strait; but it is now thought that, like the Indians, they had their origin in North America, and that the likeness to the European peoples is due simply to living in a similar climate and similar surroundings. They are a sturdy people, not tall as a rule, but very strong and healthy, with swarthy skins, brown or blue eyes, and coarse black hair. The short northern summer and the long ice-bound winter condition their lives. In the summer they build houses of skins, but the usual home of the men is the kayak, or skin canoe, in which they bravely chase the walrus or the seal. Before the coming of the white man they had tamed the dog, and in their sledges, made of bone or of wood from a wreck, covered with leather and skins, the skin-clad Eskimo drive their yelping teams over the ice. In the winter they live in round houses, known as igloos, made of frozen blocks of snow, entered only on all fours by a low hole cut near the ground, and lighted by a stone lamp in which seal or whale blubber is burned by means of a wick made of moss.

The Indians and the Eskimo were always at feud. Even to-day, and in settlements where they live close to each other, intermarriage is almost unknown. In early times the Eskimo extended farther south than they do now, perhaps as far as Cape Breton, but by the time of the coming of the white man they had been driven back to where we now find them. But though the Eskimo were getting the worst of the fight, they were no mean antagonists. In early times they seem to have been much fiercer and more cruel than they are now. In the eighteenth century

the Moravian Brothers, gentle Christian missionaries from Europe, settled among them, and gradually effected a most remarkable change in their lives. They cast their cruelty and love of war aside, and became the peaceful race we know to-day, fighting only with nature and the wild beasts, living quietly in little settlements, with names like Nain and Hebron, taken from the Bible.

CHAPTER III

THE DISCOVERERS

The Norsemen.—In the year 1000 A.D. Leif the Lucky, a Norwegian whose father, Eric the Red, had founded a little colony on the south-west coast of Greenland, pushed westward in his viking ship with thirty-five followers and discovered America. They came first to a bleak land of large flat stones, where no grass grew, "and the country seemed to them to be entirely devoid of good qualities." This they called Hellu-land, from the Norse word for a flat stone, and sailed on till they came to a level, wooded land, with long stretches of white sand, and this they called Mark-land, meaning wood-land. Still they sailed southward with a favouring wind till they came to a fair land with fields of wild wheat, and grapes growing in the open air, and this they called Wine-land the Good. The natives, whom they called Skrellings, were small, and ill-looking, and wide across the cheek-bones. They used canoes of skin, which they propelled with double-bladed paddles.

Such is the story which we read in the old Norse Sagas, or tales. For a long time people were in doubt what part of America was meant. Hellu-land looked like Labrador, Mark-land like Nova Scotia or southern Newfoundland, while Wine-land, if it was a country where grapes grew wild in the open air, must have been at least as far south as the New England States ; but all the descriptions of the natives seemed applicable to the Eskimo rather than to the Indians, and it was hard to believe that there had ever been Eskimo so far

south. Recently an American botanist who has studied these records, has shown that when the travellers spoke of the wine-berry they did not mean the grape, but the plant which we call the cranberry, from which in those times the Norwegians and Icelanders were accustomed to make a kind of wine; and that the wheat was not Indian corn, as had been supposed, but a plant known still as "Wild Wheat" or "Strand Wheat," from which the Icelanders were wont to thresh the grain. A special kind of wood which is mentioned as growing in Wine-land he has identified as the Canoe Birch. Now as all these plants grow in Labrador to-day, it seems probable that Wine-land the Good, the first part of North America on which European foot was set, was on the Labrador coast. In 1912 a Canadian explorer, Stefansson by name, found on Victoria Island in the far north a tribe of Eskimo, among whom fair hair and blue eyes are so frequent that many think they must be descended from a Norse band which had pushed its roving way to this distant point. For a time the Greenlanders endeavoured to found a settlement on the coast, but they came into bitter conflict with the Eskimo, and gradually Wine-land was abandoned. On the parent colony of Greenland itself there came evil times; it was ravaged by the Black Death, that terrible pestilence which in the fourteenth century swept all over Europe, and which in England is said to have killed off half the population. Early in the fifteenth century the Eskimo attacked the few Greenlanders who remained, and wiped them out altogether.

But though their settlement came to nothing, we may well be proud that the first white men to discover our country were of the splendid viking race of whom so many stories are told. So wide were their ravages that an old poet calls them "sea-wolves who prey upon

the pillage of the world." A little before they came to Wine-land, a Norwegian band under the giant Rolf had ravaged almost the whole of France and had conquered that part of it which is still known as Normandy; our own kings are proud that in their veins there flows to-day the blood of that Norse pirate. At the very time that Leif Ericson saw from the prow of his ship the hills of Labrador rise out of the sea, a Norse king, the great Sweyn, was preparing to conquer England, and Leif was still living when this was achieved by Sweyn's son, Cnut. Norsemen sailed up the Mediterranean and formed part of the body-guard of the Greek Emperor at Constantinople. To this day the Czar of Russia boasts his descent from the Norse freebooter Ruric. Such were the bold sea-farers who first visited our shores.

Westward Ho! for the East.—The next Europeans to set foot in Canada were no chance crew of sailors, but a royal expedition on a quest which links our country to the oldest and greatest conflict and the oldest and greatest trade route in the history of the world. Ever since the Greeks drove back the Persians on the plain of Marathon, East and West have been at variance. The crusades, in which the nations of Western Europe tried to wrest the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem from the Mohammedans, are an incident in this struggle, which went on all through the middle ages. But though East and West were often at strife, the paths between them were trodden at least as often by the caravans of trade as by the feet of armies. Europe had need of the silks and spices, the perfumes and precious stones of Asia. To the coarse cooking of the middle ages great quantities of spices were a relief; cinnamon and cloves and allspice and pepper were used in quantities at which the cooks of to-day would stare in amazement. These spices were brought from the Moluccas around

or across India, up the Red Sea, and across Egypt to Alexandria and the Mediterranean, whence they were taken to the great Italian trading cities of Genoa and Venice, by whose merchants they were distributed over Europe. Fine porcelain and silks were brought from China across Asia, and reached the Mediterranean either at Jaffa and the cities of the Levant, or by way of the Black Sea and Constantinople. But after the capture of this city by the fierce and intolerant Ottoman Turks (1453), these routes became more and more insecure, and men began to discuss the possibility of a sea passage to the East, not only for purposes of trade but also to take their Mohammedan enemy in the rear. After many adventures and misfortunes, the Portuguese rounded Africa and established a great trade with India (1497–8). Others argued that if the world were round, as some, though by no means all, educated men of the time believed, the extreme East could be reached by sailing westward. Desire so to do was increased by the tales told by the Italian traveller, Marco Polo (1254-1324), of the marvels of Cathay, as he called China, and of the island of Cipango, or Japan. Moreover, at this time geographers thought the world to be rather smaller than we now know it to be, and Asia to be rather larger, so that a westward way to the extreme East seemed easily practicable.

John Cabot.—Among those who argued thus was Giovanni Gabotto, a Venetian who had "studied the sphere," and had traded to the East. Toward the end of the fifteenth century he emigrated to England, where his name was anglicized as John Cabot. Soon after reaching England, he discussed this question of a westward route to the East with the merchants of the great port of Bristol on the west coast, and apparently as a result, westward expeditions were sent out, but to

no effect. Then, in the summer of 1493, there came to England the great news that, in the previous autumn, another Italian, the Genoese Christopher Columbus, in the service of the King and Queen of Spain, had sailed westward, had reached land which he thought to be the east coast of the Indies, and had brought back gold and gems. Great was the excitement at the court of King Henry VII. The old desires of Cabot revived, and after some delay he obtained Letters Patent from the King, empowering him and his three sons, Louis, Sebastian, and Sancius, "to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians."

His First Voyage.—On Tuesday, May 2nd, 1497, Cabot set sail from Bristol, in a little vessel, the *Mathew*, manned by eighteen men. As he was debarred from sailing to the south, owing to the King's desire not to get into trouble with Spain, Cabot steered north and west. At about five o'clock on Saturday morning, June 24th, he sighted and soon after landed on a point thought by most students to be the western extremity of Cape Breton Island, "the long wharf of North America." Of this he took possession in the name of the King of England, set up the Royal Standard of England, and beside it the Venetian banner of Saint Mark. On their way back the explorers coasted the south shore of Newfoundland, sighted St. Pierre and Miquelon, and on Sunday, August 6th, dropped anchor in Bristol harbour. While on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, they met such schools of cod that, according to the story told by Cabot on his return, the sailors caught them by merely lowering baskets into the water; in the following year his son Sebastian describes them as

being so plentiful "that they sometimes stayed his ships."

His Second Voyage.—Though Cabot had seen no inhabitants, but only some snares for catching game, and a few notches on the trees, his story caused great excitement. He reported to the King that in the land which he had reached grew silk and brazil-wood, and codfish enough to render needless the Bristol trade with Iceland. Henry VII was delighted, and so far forgot his usual thriftiness as to give Cabot a present of £10, and a little later a pension of £20 a year—no small gift, at a time when the purchasing power of money was probably eight to fifteen times as great as at present. In May, 1498, Cabot set out again from Bristol, with two ships and about three hundred men, of whom a number were criminals, given the royal pardon in order to make up the crew. Early in June, he reached what was long supposed to be Labrador, but what is now thought to have been the east coast of Greenland. Thence he coasted southward as far as the thirty-eighth parallel, near Chesapeake Bay. Here the ships were put about and a course set for England, where they arrived safely.

Great was the disappointment; instead of Cipango and its golden joys, Cabot had brought back only a few furs, which did not begin to pay the expenses of the voyage. Cabot died soon after his return, and for a time England gave up the search. His son Sebastian, disgusted at England's lack of enterprise, soon afterwards entered the service of the King of Spain and, though he made no further discoveries, did much to improve the Spanish study of navigation and of map-making. At the beginning of the reign of King Edward VI he came back to England, and helped greatly to revive the love of adventure which had seemed almost extinct.

But though John Cabot failed, it is still true that the first man to bind Canada to the old world was a British subject, that the first flag planted on our coast was the flag of England. Looking back, we may even be glad that his voyage was not followed up. Men of that day grieved to think that Spain had got the start. In a play written in the days of Queen Elizabeth, one of the characters says :

> O what a thing had been then
> If they thet be Englishmen
> Might have been the first of all
> That there should have taken possession,
> And made first building and habittation,
> A memory perpetual!

But we can now see that England, by coming later in the race for colonial possessions, after she had grown strong, and after she had learned much from the mistakes of other countries, was really enabled in the long run to outstrip all competitors.

Corte-Real.—After England, Portugal attempted the exploration of Canada. In 1500 and 1501 Gaspar Corte-Real explored the coasts of Greenland and of Labrador. The Portuguese had already begun a slave trade with Africa, and on his second voyage Corte-Real carried back some sixty Indians. But of his armament of three ships, while the two with the Indians on board reached Lisbon in safety, his own foundered somewhere off the coast of Newfoundland, and Corte-Real was never again heard of. In the next year his brother went in search of him with three ships; but a curse seemed to hang over the slavers: he too has never been heard of since the day when he and his consorts separated off Newfoundland.

For the next twenty years, though occasional voyages were made along the coast, and though fishing vessels of different nations came in ever increasing numbers

to the Banks of Newfoundland, no settlement was attempted on the grim northern land which so rudely repelled European advances.

Verrazano.—In 1524 Francis I, King of France, a worthless but dashing fellow, full of the new spirit of adventure, sent an Italian pilot, John Verrazano, with a commission to discover new lands in North America. Verrazano coasted from Cape Hatteras to Nova Scotia and on his return gave to the king an interesting account of his voyage, but in the next year Francis was



JACQUES CARTIER PLANTING THE CROSS ON CANADIAN SOIL

defeated and captured by the Spaniards, and had to turn away from thoughts of colonization. Verrazano a year or two later was captured by the Spanish and hanged as a pirate, and again the curtain fell.

Jacques Cartier.—Most of the early explorers were Italian, but the perils of the Atlantic fisheries soon produced a hardy race of French sailors. One of these was Jacques Cartier (1491-1557), a pilot of St. Malo,

a seaport on the coast of Brittany. In the spring of 1534 he set out with two little vessels, with Asia as his ultimate goal, but also in the hope of discovering new lands on the way. He coasted the eastern shore of Newfoundland, crossed the Gulf, and began poking his ship's nose into every harbour along the coast, hoping in vain that one of them would be the looked-for passage. For a moment, Chaleur Bay seemed to him the channel at the end of which the great South Sea would gleam, but soon he came to its end, "whereat we were sore distressed," he says in his quaint old French. Landing on Gaspé peninsula, he set up a cross, much to the amazement of the Indians. Proceeding up the Gulf of St. Lawrence he reached the island of Anticosti, but as it was getting late in the year, he turned back to France, taking with him two Indians from higher up the river, who had come eastward for the fishing and were decoyed on board by presents.

Stadacona.—In the next year he came again with three vessels, the *Grande Hermine*, the *Petite Hermine*, and the *Emerillon*. Landing at Quebec he was well received by the savage chief, Donnacona, lord of the tribe who were settled there in a village called Stadacona. They were probably Huron-Iroquois, if we may judge by such of their words as have been preserved for us by Cartier. Here it was and at this time that our country got its name. Donnacona asked Cartier to come with him to see his village, calling it Kannata, which in the Indian tongue means a collection of huts. Cartier misunderstood him to say that this was the name of the district, and from his error has come the beautiful name of our country.

Hochelaga.—Fired by the stories of "the country of Saguenay, in which are infinite rubies, gold, and other riches," which were told by Donnacona, who had all his

life been a wanderer by river, lake, and mountain, Cartier determined to push up the St. Lawrence in his pinnace, leaving his ships at the mouth of the St. Charles. At Montreal, then known by the Indians as Hochelaga, he was welcomed by a band of Indians, apparently of the Iroquois stock. Their chief, who was paralysed, besought the wonderful stranger to touch his limbs and heal him. Cartier touched the sick man and read over him the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, while all the Indians stood by in dignified attention, a dignity which soon dissolved when Cartier tossed among the children a handful of beads, little bells, and other trifles. Ascending to the top of the neighbouring mountain, which he called Mont Royal, he was struck by the wonderful fertility of the country, but still more by the fury of the rapids which barred his farther progress to the land of his dreams.

A Canadian Winter.—Soon after his return to Quebec, winter set in. For this, Cartier and his men, accustomed to sunny France and deceived by the warmth of the Canadian summer, were wholly unprepared. Fresh vegetables ran short, scurvy broke out, and the crews rotted before Cartier's eyes. In vain he used his little medical skill; in vain he set up an image of the Virgin, and took to it in procession all who could walk. Toward February, however, he was shown a tree by one of the two Indians whom he had taken to France during the past year; of the leaves and young branches of this he made a decoction, which with much difficulty he induced one or two of the sick to taste. So wonderful were its healing effects upon men who had been living for months upon a diet of salt junk and cider, that, to quote Cartier's own words: "all crowded round the said medicine, so that they were like to kill one another in their desire to be the first to take it; in so

much that as large and tall a tree as ever I saw was used up in less than a week.'' This life-giving tree, called by the Indians, *Anneda,* was probably the White Spruce, the leaves of which are still used for the same purpose.

As soon as the ice broke up Cartier returned to France with his crews so reduced that he left one of his ships behind. By what seems to us treachery, but what to the sailors of the day was no more than the ordinary way of treating savage races, Cartier lured on board Donnacona, the two Indians whom he had taken in the previous year, and about a dozen others. On his return to France they were not ill-treated or sold into slavery as had been those captured by Corte-Real, but were presented to the King at Court, kindly treated, and instructed in the Christian religion. But the red men pined for the wild life of forest and stream; to some, the vices of the old world proved all too pleasant; six years later all were dead, save one little girl of about ten years old.

Roberval.—In spite of the wonderful stories told by Donnacona, the accounts of the terrible winter given by Cartier's crew seem to have damped the ardour of the French for exploration. War with Spain had broken out again, and the energy of the country was turned to this. But in 1540, in a brief interval of peace, Cartier and his friends obtained another commission. While they were making their preparations, Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, a gentleman of the Court, succeeded in having the commission transferred to him and was appointed the King's Viceroy in Canada. Cartier took service under him, and in 1541 was sent out in advance. The attempt was a failure; the Indians, finding that their friends had not been brought back, were sullen and suspicious; after a miserable winter at

Cap Rouge, above Quebec, he resolved to return, and had got as far as St. John's in Newfoundland when Roberval himself appeared. Cartier had no mind to face another Canadian winter, and in the night stole back to France. Soon afterwards he retired to a farm near St. Malo, where for many years he lived happily, greatly in demand among his neighbours as a god-father to their children. Roberval went on to Cap Rouge and founded a settlement, largely composed of convicts. Here, during the winter, scurvy ravaged his crew, and he was forced to keep down mutiny with rope and lash; in the spring he set off on a voyage of exploration, but where he went we cannot say; it came to nothing, and in the autumn he was glad to return to France with such men as he had left. Some years later he was stabbed in a midnight brawl in the streets of Paris.



Jacques Cartier

By this time the French had had enough of Canada. Tales of gold and rubies were far less effective than the sight of wasted limbs, of hands and feet from which scurvy and frost had taken their toll. Nor did the condition of France long remain favourable to the planting of colonies. In 1563 the terrible wars of religion broke out, and for over thirty years Roman Catholic and Protestant were at each other's throats all over that country.

Fishing and Fur-trading Voyages.—Yet Canada was by no means abandoned. Roman Catholic and Protestant alike must live, and the former especially craved his

Friday's meal of fish. Hence voyages to the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, and to the Grand Banks, were frequent, though the French ships were as a rule so small that they were known as "the sardines of the sea." In 1587 Jacques Noel, a grand-nephew of Cartier, writing from St. Malo to the English historian Hakluyt, speaks of himself as having been to the Lachine Rapids. In 1607 the French traveller, Lescarbot, met at Canso—a harbour on the south-west of Cape Breton—a fine old Basque named Savalet, then on his forty-second annual voyage. If the Frenchman needed fish, his wife needed furs, and the Basques and Bretons of the sea-coast came yearly as far as Tadoussac to barter with the savages who came down the St. Lawrence and the Saguenay.

De la Roche.—One larger attempt at settlement was made. The Marquis de la Roche, a turbulent nobleman of Brittany, obtained from King Henry III a commission creating him "lieutenant-general of the King in the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, the river of the Great Bay (that is, the St. Lawrence), Norembega (that is, Acadia), and the lands adjacent." On setting sail, he, according to Hakluyt, "went with 300 men to inhabit those parts, whose voyage was overthrown by occasion that his greatest ship of 300 tons was cast away over against Brouage." In 1598 he tried again. With such wide powers, a good leader might have accomplished much; De la Roche did practically nothing. Two hundred sturdy beggars—male and female, the sweepings of the streets and of the jails—were handed over to him at Rouen. Most of these he seems to have treated as Falstaff did Bullcalf and Mouldy, and to have sold them their liberty. The rest he embarked in a vessel so small that he is said to have been able to wash his hands in the water by leaning over the side. On

reaching Sable Island he landed sixty of his jailbirds, and himself went on to explore the neighbouring coasts.

Sable Island is, as its French name—Isle de Sable—shows, a sandbar, about 100 miles off the coast of Nova Scotia. Treeless, harbourless, storm swept, fog-bound, the centre of a swirl of confused and confusing tides, it is the dread of mariners, and was long known as "the graveyard of the Atlantic." It is now about nineteen miles in length by rather more than one in breadth, and is gradually being worn away by the action of wind and wave. In the sixteenth century it was rather more than double its present size, but as desolate and inhospitable as it is to-day. Hardly had De la Roche landed his hopeful settlers when a storm drove him back to France. The hapless convicts wandered among the sand-hills, gathered the cranberries which still luxuriate on the island, fished, trapped fox and seal, and hunted the wild cattle. How these came there we do not know. Lescarbot says that they were the descendants of some left by a Frenchman who had made an unsuccessful attempt at colonization; Champlain, that they escaped from the wreck of a Spanish vessel; the English historian Purchas, that they were left by the Portuguese. Quarrels broke out, and the convicts fought till only eleven were left. At last in 1603 the King, having heard of their plight, sent a ship to bring them back. The scoundrelly captain robbed them of a valuable collection of furs made during their captivity, but was compelled to disgorge; in consideration of their sufferings they were pardoned for their former crimes, and are said to have embarked in the Canadian fur-trade.

CHAPTER IV

EXPLORATION

Renewed French Attempts.—Nothing is more striking in the history of France than her wonderful power of recuperation. Again and again she has been struck down, yet she has always remained a great power; so now, apparently bled white by over thirty years of civil and external war, in a few years she rose to European supremacy. In this she was greatly aided by the firm hand of Henry IV, the most picturesque, heroic, and lovable scape-grace that ever sat upon a throne. As soldier he had been a dashing knight-errant and squire of dames, but as monarch he proved at once cautious and far-seeing, with a keen grasp of what was practicable and an equally keen insight into the future. Though born and bred a Huguenot, on ascending the throne he established Roman Catholicism as the official religion, but by the great Edict of Nantes (1598) granted toleration to his Protestant subjects. France, as he said, had now time to take breath, and with the coming of peace projects of colonization were resumed on a wider scale.

In 1598 a trading venture to Canada was planned by François Gravé, Sieur du Pont, often known as Pont-gravé, a sailor of St. Malo, who had already ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Three Rivers, and Pierre Chauvin, a rich merchant of Honfleur. With them was associated Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, an old Huguenot comrade in arms of the King. To the King they offered to found a colony in Canada, on condition of receiving a monopoly of the fur-trade;

and in spite of the opposition of the merchants of St. Malo, who ever since Cartier's time had claimed a similar monopoly, the grant was made. But Chauvin was a mere money-grubbing churl, and though the trading venture which set out in 1600 was a success, his only attempt at a colony was to leave sixteen men at Tadoussac, most of whom perished in the first winter. In 1602 he died, and his share in the enterprise passed into worthier hands.

Aymar de Chaste, Governor of Dieppe, a white-haired veteran of the Civil War, fervent Roman Catholic and loyal Frenchman, had been true to the Huguenot monarch in his darkest hours. Now he burned to signalize his old age by an enterprise which should win souls to the Church and subjects to the King, to plant in America the Cross of Christ and the fleur-de-lys of France. The two objects were not separated either in his mind or in that of his contemporaries. Only by converting the Indians could they be made fit subjects of the monarch whose proud title was that of "Most Christian King," "Rex Christianissimus." Only by making them subjects of France could they be induced—as a preliminary to Christianity—to lay aside their savage and nomadic habits. To defray the expenses of his great attempt, he asked, and quickly obtained from his old comrade in arms—always ready to give what cost him nothing—a monopoly of the fur-trade.

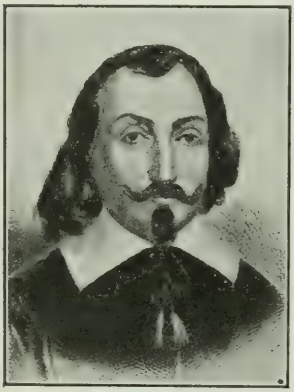
Motives of the French.—In this early attempt were united the three influences which, during its formative period, led men to Canada, and in them we can see the germ of the ultimate failure: (1) To convert the Indians —religious zeal; (2) to spread wide the name of France —patriotic ardour; (3) to take part in the fur-trade. The two former motives appealed only to the high-minded few. The first brought missionaries who toiled

and agonized and died for their faith; the second brought no less dauntless explorers, who in frail bark and frailer canoe, on foot, on horseback, wandered over vast expanses of country and set up the flag of France in the swamps of Louisiana and on the foot-hills of the Rockies. But neither explorer nor missionary alone can found a colony. Men will not in large numbers leave their homes and friends, the graves of their ancestors, the countless traditions which make dear their native land—more particularly when that land is one so pleasant and smiling as France—without strong hope of betterment. To these was held out the fur-trade, an occupation essentially migratory and uncertain. Men came and traded and went back. The history of New France is rich in daring explorers, in heroic missionaries. One thing only was lacking—colonists; and without colonists it is impossible to found a successful colony.

This the French Court saw. To the monopoly of the fur-trade was invariably attached a proviso that the grantee should bring out a definite number of colonists. This he usually did for the first year or two, while the eye of the government was on him. Then he devoted himself more and more exclusively to the fur-trade. Finally the original colonists complained of their lack of support, or trade rivals gave information; in any case, after a few years the government heard, grew angry, rescinded the monopoly, and gave it to some one else. So the dreary round went on till the King took the government of Canada into his own hands.

Champlain.—Early in the spring of 1603 De Chaste's expedition of three ships set sail. On board—specially sent by the King to explore and report, and so practically ranking as Geographer Royal—was Samuel Champlain (1567–1635).

Champlain was born of sea-faring parents, among the salt marshes of Brouage, on the west coast of France. There is some slight evidence that his parents were Huguenots, but Champlain himself when we first hear of him, was a devout and unquestioning Roman Catholic, and such throughout his life he remained. As a boy he took to the sea, but left it for a time to serve under De Chaste in the royal army. After the coming of peace (1598) he spent two years under the Spanish flag in the West Indies, and on his return wrote an account of the Spanish colonial system in a little book in which he showed his keenness of vision by advocating the building of the Panama Canal, "by which," he says, "the voyage to the South Seas would be shortened by more than fifteen hundred leagues."



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

The Search for a Passage to the East.—Champlain's hope, in taking part in the expedition of Pontgravé, was to find the longed-for passage to the Orient. At this time the size and shape of North America were unknown. He had seen the narrowness of the Isthmus of Panama. Why, he argued, might not the country farther north taper away to nothing, or at least narrow to an isthmus, pierced or pierceable, or break up into a group of islands, between which a passage might be found. Davis, Frobisher, and other English navigators had indeed come to grief in their search for a Northwest Passage; but between Mexico and Davis Strait there was ample room for further exploration. Cham-

plain was ever one of those who "dreamed greatly;" who "yearned beyond the skyline where the strange roads go down." To the last his purpose held "to sail beyond the sunset, and the baths of all the western stars." Yet as the country between him and Cathay grew ever wider and grander, his idea became first associated with, and finally almost superseded by, the other thought of civilizing and colonizing these new lands of his discovery and of his adoption, of planting there the flag of his country and the Cross of his God.

The Company of De Monts.—On his voyage in 1603 he reached Lachine, and mapped out in greater detail the route already explored by Cartier ; on his return he found De Chaste dead; but the mantle of the veteran fell on De Monts, who reorganized the Company and tried to conciliate the free-traders—as those who traded in defiance of the monopoly were called—by taking into it the most important merchants of the west coast of France.

De Monts' patent entitled him to colonize Acadia, which was defined as the country lying between the fortieth and the forty-sixth parallels. This would have given him the coast as far south as Philadelphia, and had he gone thither he would have anticipated the founders of New York and Pennsylvania. There was at this time no English settlement on the Atlantic coast; for though Virginia had been founded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it had proved a failure. Had the French established a colony at the mouth of the Chesapeake, the future history of North America might have been very different; but fear of Spain, which still claimed the whole Atlantic coast, turned their prows northward, in spite of the opposition of the Duc de Sully, once the King's comrade in arms at Ivry, now his Finance Minister. "Among the things done against my advice," he wrote

in his memoirs, "I place the colony which this year was sent to Canada. There is no sort of riches to be hoped for from all these countries of the New World which are north of the fortieth parallel of latitude."

St. Croix.—In the spring of 1604 De Monts, with Champlain as his lieutenant, sailed from Havre de Grace, Pontgravé following in a second ship. They entered the Bay of Fundy, discovered the beautiful harbour now known as Annapolis, but called by them Port Royal, and foolishly made their first settlement on a little island at the mouth of the St. Croix River, which now divides Canada from the state of Maine. In 1798, almost two hundred years afterwards, the Commissioners who were deciding the boundary line between Canada and the United States, settled a dispute by discovering the ruins of De Monts' first fort. On the island there was scanty soil to grow vegetables or grain; in winter the little stream ran dry, and even fresh water had to be brought across the ice from the mainland. During the first winter they suffered terribly from scurvy, and of seventy-nine who had landed in June, only forty-four were alive in the following spring. The mistake was due to Champlain, who chose with the eye of a soldier, rather than with that of a colonizer; in the same way afterwards at Montreal, he wished to make the settlement on the little island of St. Helens, as being easy of defence against the Indians.

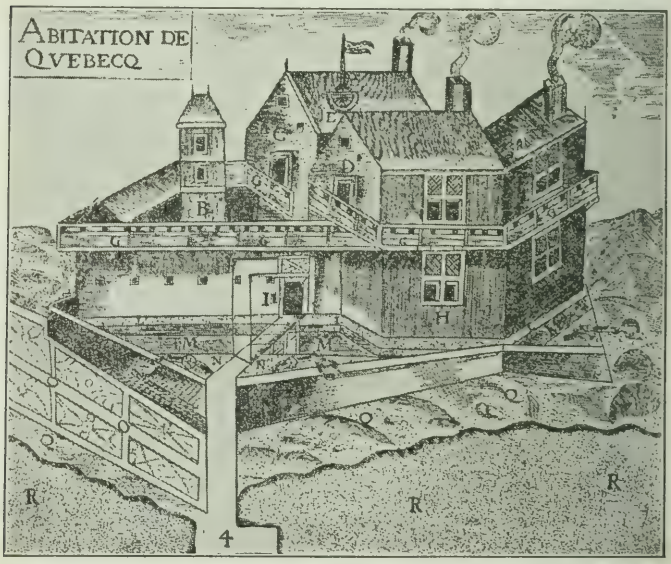
Lescarbot at Port Royal.—In 1605 they wisely deserted St. Croix, and moved across to Port Royal; in the next year reinforcements came out, including the Baron de Poutrincourt, to whom De Monts, under his powers as the King's Lieutenant-general, gave as a fief Port Royal and the adjacent district. With De Poutrincourt came his friend, the lawyer Marc Lescarbot, to whose clever pen we owe the first history of New France.

Though without the physical energy of Champlain, Lescarbot was much wiser, and saw the folly of these little island settlements. If you want to be in prison, he said, there is no need of coming to America; prisons in plenty there are at home.

Above all Lescarbot saw that a prosperous colony must be rooted in the soil. The riches which Spain had drawn from the silver mines of Mexico and Peru had set all Europe astray in the search for precious metals. For these the English Frobisher had sought amid Arctic snows, and had brought home a cargo of iron pyrites in mistake for gold. Champlain himself wasted much of his time in searching for minerals along the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Lescarbot knew better. "This copper," he says of a mine which was discovered, "is of very good quality, but the time for hunting for such things is not yet come. . . . The first and most essential mine is to have plenty of bread and wine and cattle, as we said at the beginning of this history. Our happiness does not spring from mines of gold and silver, which cannot employ men either at tilling the soil, or at manufacturing." These ideas may seem to us commonplace enough, but when we remember that at this very time the Spaniards in South America were neglecting their farms in the search for gold, when we remember how the will-o'-the-wisp of gold led astray even the wise and great Sir Walter Raleigh, we shall recognise in Marc Lescarbot one of the wisest men of his time. In 1607, while De Monts and Champlain were off exploring the Bay of Fundy and the coast of Maine and Massachusetts, he took charge at Port Royal and taught farming and gardening to the settlers. For this the adventure-loving Champlain dubbed him a stay-at-home, but we can now see that right was on the side of the lawyer. Champlain, though he had a love

for gardening not infrequent in old soldiers, had no adequate idea of the paramount necessity laid upon a young country to feed itself.

Founding of Quebec.—The monopoly of De Monts depended upon the favour of the King, and during his absence in Canada was rescinded on the complaint of some merchants whose vessels he had seized. A personal appeal persuaded Henry IV to renew it for one



CHAMPLAIN'S DRAWING OF THE FIRST BUILDINGS ERECTED AT QUEBEC

A. Storehouse. *B*. Dove-cote. *C.D.F*. Workmen's lodgings. *E*. Sun-dial. *G*. Galleries. *H*. Champlain's house. *I*. Door and drawbridge. *L*. Pathway between buildings and ditch. *M*. Ditch. *N*. Platform for cannon. *O*. Champlain's garden. *P*. The kitchen. *Q*. The lawn. *R*. The St. Lawrence River.

year only. Disgusted with Acadia, De Monts resolved to try the St. Lawrence. The main trading post was then at Tadoussac, but Champlain in a small boat pushed on to where the river narrows, and there, on July 3rd,

1608, chose the site of a trading post. Such was the humble beginning of the historic city of Quebec. Save for the years 1629-32 the fleur-de-lys was to wave on that rocky cliff for a century and a half.

War with the Iroquois.—Champlain was soon entangled in the meshes of Indian politics and diplomacy. With their splendid central position (see p. 12), the Iroquois could strike at the fleets of canoes which came down the St. Lawrence or the Ottawa to trade at Three Rivers or Quebec. Against them the Hurons and the Algonquins were banded together, and hardly was Quebec founded when Champlain had to choose between the two leagues. He allied himself with the more numerous party, with whom he had already established friendly relations, and in June, 1609, we find him on the war-path against the Iroquois.

With his Indian allies and a few Frenchmen, Champlain ascended the St. Lawrence, and turned south along the Richelieu, then known as the River of the Iroquois. Soon they reached the lake which now bears his name, a lake of limpid waters and well-wooded shores—woods which have rung so often with the war-cry, waters which so often have been stained with the blood of men. Near the spot where is now Ticonderoga, they met a fleet of Iroquois. All night long a thousand savage throats yelled defiance; in the summer morning the battle joined. The Iroquois advanced to the fray with a martial regularity, a disciplined silence that won the admiration of the soldierly Champlain. They were clad in wicker armour, which would turn an arrow. But when a figure in gleaming steel stepped forth from the ranks of the enemy, when from his levelled weapon there belched forth thunder and lightning, and their bravest chiefs lay dead on the ground, fear of the unknown god filled their savage hearts, and they fled in panic

through the forest. That night the allies tortured one of the captives with such loathsome barbarity that Champlain sickened at the sight, and with a merciful bullet put him out of his agony. In the next year Champlain again won the victory for the Algonquins, in a battle near the mouth of the Richelieu; but he had also won the hatred of the ablest and most vengeful savages of North America. Women and children yet unborn were to rue that victory.

First Exploration of Ontario.—For the next few years Champlain's life was chiefly that of an ex-



CHAMPLAIN'S EXPLORATIONS

plorer, though he several times returned to France to protest against the "free-traders," and to endeavour to found a company which should have wider and more Christian views than mere money-making. In 1610 he planned an expedition in search of a great inland sea described by the natives. This we now know to have been Hudson Bay, but to his

dream it was the long-sought-for sea beyond which lay Asia, and the pearl and gold of the barbaric East. In 1613 he explored the Ottawa River as far as Lac des Allumettes. Nicholas Vignau, "the most shameless liar that ever was born," as Champlain calls him, had spent the winter of 1612 among the Indians on the Upper Ottawa, and on his return told a cunningly devised tale of how he had reached the Northern Sea. The recently published account of the discoveries and death of Henry Hudson lent colour to the story, and Champlain pushed up the Ottawa, overcoming its almost countless shoals and cataracts by portaging the canoes through the rock and dense scrub. On reaching Lac des Allumettes, his hopes were dashed, for the Indians there forced Vignau to confess that he had spent the winter among them. Champlain magnanimously forgave the deceiver, but was compelled to return, though he had the minor satisfaction of persuading new tribes to come to the barter at Quebec. In 1615 he again ascended the Ottawa, crossed to Lake Nipissing, and thence by the French River to the Georgian Bay; continuing his march by way of Lake Simcoe, the Trent system, and the Bay of Quinte, he was the first white man to set eyes upon Lake Ontario. Crossing this lake he accompanied the Hurons to the northern part of New York State, in an unsuccessful expedition against an Iroquois stronghold not far from the present town of Syracuse. He was carried wounded from the field, and spent the following winter among the Hurons, noting with a keen eye their manners and customs. Thereafter he lived mainly at Quebec, though with frequent journeys to France in the attempt to arouse enthusiasm for the country of his adoption.

The New Company.—Though trade had been going on satisfactorily, colonization was at a standstill. De

Monts' monopoly came to an end in 1609, and for some years trade was free. The results of this were very unsatisfactory; for such a rush of merchants came to the St. Lawrence that not half of them could dispose of their goods, and many were ruined, while their brawling and greed frightened and disgusted the Indians. As a result a monopoly of the trade was given to a Company formed in France by Champlain, under the nominal presidency of Condé, a Prince of the Blood Royal. As far as trade went, the Company was very successful. In one year it carried 25,000 furs to France, and is said to have paid for several years a dividend of 40 per cent. But as a colonizing agency it did nothing. Indeed, it is obvious that the Company did not want settlers. The larger the expanse of ground under cultivation, the farther they had to go afield for furs; the more settled the habits of the people, the less the adventurous life of the woods appealed to them. Thus when Louis Hébert, an old friend of Lescarbot in Acadia, came out with his family to settle, the Company worried and badgered him. Hébert, however, held on; to-day his numerous descendants in the province of Quebec look back to him with the same pride that New Englanders do to the pioneers of the *Mayflower*.

The Company of One Hundred Associates.—In a few years the Company was dissolved by the Crown, and the monopoly conferred on two Huguenot merchants of Rouen, De Caen by name. They made little attempt to fulfil the conditions of their bargain, and in 1627 the contract was rescinded. A larger company known as the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, often called the Company of the Hundred Associates, was then founded, with the Cardinal de Richelieu, at the time Grand Admiral of France and supreme in the kingdom, as patron and chief shareholder. From the King

this Company received a monopoly of the trade and of the government of Canada, on condition that it send out at once a strong reinforcement of artisans and labourers, and that in fifteen years it establish in the country at least 4,000 colonists. But in the same year war broke out with England; in 1628 the Company's fleet of provision ships was captured, and in 1629 the starving little settlement surrendered to an English fleet under David Kirke. Champlain spent his next three years in England and France, urging on the French ambassador and the French Government the importance of the restoration of the colony. He was successful and, in 1632, by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-laye, Canada was given back by Charles I of England, in return for the payment by France of the unpaid half of the dowry of his Queen, Henrietta Maria. But the capture of its fleets had ruined the Company, and though Champlain returned to Quebec and toiled on unweariedly as before, the colonists brought out were few and unsatisfactory. Worn out, he died of paralysis on Christmas day, 1635.

Character of Champlain.—His character is well described by the Protestant historian Parkman, in words partly copied from the Jesuit Charlevoix, Protestant and Roman Catholic thus uniting to do honour to the founder of New France:

"The colony could ill spare him. For twenty-seven years he had laboured hard and ceaselessly for its welfare, sacrificing fortune, repose, and domestic peace to a cause embraced with enthusiasm and pursued with intrepid persistency. His character belonged partly to the past, partly to the present. The preux chevalier, the crusader, the romance-loving explorer, the curious, knowledge-seeking traveller, the practical navigator, all claimed their share in him. His views, though far beyond those of

the mean spirits around him, belonged to his age and his creed. . . . He is charged with credulity, from which few of his age were free, and which in all ages has been the foible of earnest and generous natures, too ardent to criticise, and too honourable to doubt the honour of others. . . . A soldier from his youth, in an age of unbridled license, his life had answered to his maxims; and when a generation had passed after his visit to the Hurons, their elders remembered with astonishment the continence of the great French war-chief."

He has been much blamed for the light-heartedness with which he brought down on the struggling settlement the wrath of the Iroquois. Perhaps he was too fond of hunting to care greatly whether the game were a squirrel or an Iroquois, but in any case there could never have been peace for the colony; trade with the Indians north of the St. Lawrence could never have been carried on until these forest tigers, these insatiable scalp-hunters, had been subdued. Nor would the task have been at first a hard one. In 1635, the year of his death, Champlain wrote to Richelieu: "It requires



STATUE OF CHAMPLAIN AT QUEBEC

but 120 men, light-armed for avoiding arrows, by whose aid, together with 2,000 or 3,000 savage warriors, we should be, within a year, absolute masters of all these peoples, and by establishing order among them, promote religious worship, and secure an incredible amount of traffic." The fault was not that of Champlain, but of the Government and of the Company which first encouraged him with promises of aid, and then left him defenceless.

CHAPTER V

MISSIONARIES AND INDIANS

The Jesuits.—From 1627 to 1663 the government of Canada was in the hands of the Company of One Hundred Associates. But our interest is not in the affairs of this selfish trading corporation, in its long struggle for existence and its inglorious end, but in the daring of the explorers who succeeded Champlain, and in the zeal of the missionaries.

It is possible that a priest accompanied Cartier on his second voyage, and early in the seventeenth century we hear of Jesuit missionaries in Acadia; but the first to take up residence in Canada were four Recollet friars who came in 1615. These Recollets—the strictest branch of the great Franciscan order — worked faithfully among the Indians, began a dictionary of the Huron language, and abstained from politics. In 1625 came the Jesuits, who were hospitably received by the Recollets, and given the shelter refused by the suspicious Huguenot, De Caen. The hospitality was ill-repaid, for after the English occupation (1629–32) the Recollets found themselves, on one pretext or another, excluded by the Company, pretexts in which it is impossible not to see the hand of their Jesuit rivals.

The Society of Jesus was founded in the sixteenth century by a retired Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, to give to the Roman Catholic Church a body of well-trained and disciplined missionaries in the struggle with the Reformation. The root principle of the Society, the cardinal virtue of its members, is obedience—rigid

discipline, unfailing submission to the will of their Superior, and to his voice as to the voice of God. Hence the Jesuit missionaries in Canada went forward, as they went forward in Japan and in South America, as they go forward to-day in India and Africa, regardless of self. They were for the most part men of gentle birth, who, had they remained in the world, might have held high position; but they conquered every weakness of the flesh, braved the cold and wet and misery, the daily nausea of life in an Indian village, with its perpetual stench, its fleas, its dirt, its bad and scanty food, with the prospect ever in the background of death by the most subtle and excruciating torture. Their ability too was high. A Canadian proverb ran: "You can cut out a Recollet with a hatchet, a parish priest with a chisel, but for a Jesuit you need the pencil of an artist."

Their Aim.—Their aim, which for a time they realized in Paraguay, was to establish a native Christianity. They learned the language of their flocks, and made little or no attempt to teach them French ; knowing that the weaker race is always more prone to be influenced by our vices than our virtues, they wished to keep their Indian charges in absolute seclusion from all white influence save their own. In Canada this ideal of a strong and peaceful confederacy of native tribes soon became strengthened by desire for trade —much easier with peaceful vassal states than with independent and savage nomads—and by the political advantages of building up a barrier against the spread of English influence.

Among the Hurons.—After a short and unsatisfactory experience with various Algonquin tribes, the Jesuits established a mission among the Hurons, whose more settled habits promised better results. Every moment

their lives were in danger. Soon after their coming a fierce attack of smallpox, doubtless brought from Tadoussac or Quebec, decimated the Hurons, and was ascribed by the moody savages to the "medicine" of the black-robes. Dear especially to the hearts of the Fathers was the baptism of dying children, who were thus, if but one drop of water could touch their brow, snatched from an eternity of woe to an eternity of bliss. Unfortunately, the Huron mother mourning over her babe was inclined to ascribe its death to the baptismal rite, and cried for vengeance. But amid peril and discomfort the heroes toiled on ; their patience, their assiduity, their tact, their contempt of death, gradually told upon the savages, and the prospects of success looked bright. But a thunder-cloud was looming up from southward.

The Iroquois Destroy the Hurons.—The Iroquois had been quick to learn that their bows and arrows were powerless against the thunder-speaking guns of the French. Soon they found that similar guns could be had in exchange for furs from the Dutch traders at Albany (then known as Orange) on the Hudson. With their new arms they renewed their attacks upon the Hurons, and a war of extermination began. Gradually the nerve of the Hurons was shattered; a deep dejection came over them ; perhaps the process of civilizing —or taming—and christianizing them had made them less fierce, less able to resist the human wolves who prowled about their dwellings. At last in 1649–50 the reiterated Iroquois attacks overwhelmed the Hurons, and as a nation they ceased to exist. The Huron settlements at St. Ignace, St. Louis, and St. Marie, near the present river Wye, were utterly destroyed, and several of the missionaries, notably Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant, were tortured and killed, after displaying an heroic

endurance of pain which surpassed that of the Indians themselves. Such of the Hurons as survived fled westwards, settled near Detroit, and took the name of Wyandots; of them we shall hear later. A few others found shelter near Quebec, and their descendants are still to be seen at the little village of Lorette.

Further Iroquois Conquests.—Meanwhile the destruction of the Hurons had only whetted the appetites of the Iroquois for further slaughter. Already in 1649 they had wiped out the Algonquins of Lake Nipissing and of the Upper Ottawa. In 1649-50 they drove from their homes that branch of the Hurons known as the Tobacco nation. In 1650-51 they destroyed a powerful people of kindred race known as the Neutrals, who dwelt upon the north-east shore of Lake Erie and the south-west of Lake Ontario. In the winter of 1651-2 a band of warriors marched on snowshoes through the forest, a journey of twenty days northward from the St. Lawrence, and destroyed an Algonquin tribe known as the Attikamegues, or nation of the White Fish, who dwelt in the forest near the sources of the St. Maurice. In 1654 they turned upon the Eries, who lived to the south-east of the lake of that name, a brave and warlike tribe, which, though ignorant of firearms, had great skill in the use of poisoned arrows; but the desperate valour of the Iroquois stormed their stronghold, and in one day the Erie nation was destroyed. The Iroquois still tell the grim tale of how on the evening of the battle, the forest glowed with a thousand watchfires, in the midst of each of which a burning Erie writhed out his life.

Weakening of the Iroquois.—Then the Confederates turned upon another kindred nation, the Andastes, on the Susquehanna, and after twenty years of struggle reduced them to a disordered and wandering band. In

1680 they reached the banks of the Mississippi, destroyed the Illinois as a nation, and drove the remnant west of the river. But here they came in touch with the Sioux or Dacotah, the raiders of the western plains, as fierce as themselves, and more numerous. The war parties met on opposite sides of a small stream. "What do you here?" said the Sioux. "We hunt." "So do we," said the Sioux, "and what do you hunt?" "Men," was the grim answer. "You have found them," came the reply across the water, and a desperate fight began. After four hours the Iroquois had had enough, and endeavoured to withdraw, but were cut off almost to a man. The Sioux tore out the eyes of some of the captives, cut off the hands of others, and sent them back to their lodges with the warning not to send women on a man's errand next time.

Such a bloody repulse, and the long fight with the Andastes, greatly reduced the numbers of the Iroquois. Drink too, introduced by the white traders, played havoc in their ranks. This depletion they in part remedied by the adoption of their bravest prisoners; as early as 1680 the pure Iroquois stock was greatly mixed with Huron, Neutral, and Erie blood, and more than a trace of white was beginning to appear; one of their most celebrated chiefs was known to the French, from his fatherhood, as the Flemish Bastard. In 1713–15 they adopted into their "Long House" the kindred tribe of the Tuscaroras, driven north from Carolina. But their power was weakening, and in the eighteenth century they trusted more to diplomacy than to force of arms.

Iroquois Exploits.—Meanwhile, with such neighbours, the colony did not prosper. It existed practically on sufferance; the real lords of the soil were not the French but the Iroquois, who prowled about almost at will

around the walls of Quebec and the outlying settlements. In 1656 they came boldly down past Quebec, and partly by persuasion and partly by threats induced a number of the Huron refugees to join them. On their return they plundered the houses of the Lower Town of Quebec and burned six of the Hurons, without a hand being raised in resistance. For twenty years the Iroquois found no sport equal to this bloody teasing of the colonists.

Founding of Montreal.—Tadoussac, Quebec, and Three Rivers were the centres of the fur-trade. In 1642 the mission of Montreal was founded, in defiance of the advice of all practical men. "I have not come here," said Maisonneuve, the heroic founder, "to deliberate, but to act. It is my duty and my honour to found a colony at Montreal, and I would go, if every tree were an Iroquois." Founded by a band of religious visionaries, Montreal soon passed into the hands of the powerful Order of Sulpicians, in whose hands many of the most valuable sites remain to this day. For twenty years the fighting was fierce around Montreal, and the founders of the little settlement had some reason for their confidence that so many hairbreadth escapes could only be accounted for by the very special guardianship of heaven. In 1660 the colony was saved by what is perhaps the bravest deed in Canada's story.

The Heroes of the Long Sault.—Adam Daulac, or Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, was a young man of good family, twenty-five years of age. Hearing that a band of Iroquois had wintered on the Ottawa, and were about to attack the colony, he obtained permission from Maisonneuve to collect a band of volunteers and to go out against the enemy. Sixteen joined him; others proffered aid, if he would wait till the spring sowing was over; but the heroic hearts of the little band would brook no delay. They made their wills, received the Holy

Communion, and one bright May morning set their faces to the wilderness. At the foot of the Long Sault Rapid on the Ottawa they occupied a small palisaded inclosure, made in the previous autumn by a party of Algonquin hunters, where they were joined by a party of forty Hurons and four Algonquins. Soon two hundred Iroquois warriors were upon them, but a siege is always the weak point in Indian warfare, and the Iroquois were driven back with the loss of the chiefest chief of the Senecas. For five days the dauntless band held out. Then five hundred Iroquois reinforcements arrived, and one by one all the Hurons, save their chief, deserted to the foe. For three days more the Iroquois assaults were repulsed. At last the whole band charged forward, protected by great shields of logs, nailed together with cross-pieces. Worn with hunger and thirst and half mad from lack of sleep, the heroes stood to their arms for the last time. Daulac crammed a musketoon to the muzzle with bullets and powder, to throw as a grenade among the foe. So weak was he that the missile caught at the top of the palisade, and fell back among the French. In the confusion the Indians rushed in; but with axe and knife and clubbed musket the French fought on till the Iroquois drew off and, firing volley after volley, shot them down. But their death was the salvation of New France. The Iroquois had had enough. If seventeen Frenchmen, four Algonquins, and one Huron could thus hold their bravest at bay behind a crumbling palisade of logs, what could not the whole population of Montreal do behind barriers of stone? Silently they paddled back to their homes, to wreak their vengeance on the Huron deserters. It was from five of these, who escaped, that Montreal heard of its salvation by the little band of heroes fighting in the name of the Lord of Hosts and of His Church.

Slowness of Growth of the Colony.—Tales of these horrors, spread by the Jesuits in their missionary reports, did not encourage emigration to Canada. The Company did not want settlers who drove the fur-bearing animals farther and farther afield. Nor, indeed, did the Jesuits. Rather, they demanded from the colonist a combination of qualifications so rare as to debar practically all would-be emigrants.

1. He must be a good son of the Church. As the Roman Catholics were becoming more and more a privileged class in France, they were less and less likely to leave it.

2. He must be a moral man, not likely to do harm among the Indians.

3. He must be of a quiet and stay-at-home disposition, for too often the fur-trader or explorer had little real regard for religion and preferred the free life of the woods to the services of the Church. But stay-at-home people are just those who do not emigrate. The Jesuit mission sent out saints, prophets, virgins, but very few men and women to rear up children for the colony.

But a brighter day was to dawn. Disgusted with the failure of the Company of One Hundred Associates, and urged by the chief officers and inhabitants of Canada, King Louis XIV revoked the charter of the Company (1663) and took the colony into his own hands.

CHAPTER VI

CANADA UNDER ROYAL RULE

Louis XIV and Colbert.—Louis XIV was at this time a young man of twenty-five, active, energetic, greedy of fame. At his side was his great Minister, Colbert, with equal love for France and equal belief in her imperial destiny. Considering colonies to be of great value, as supplying raw materials for the manufacturers of the mother country, and markets for her manufactured goods, he at once set to work to develop the farming, the forests, and the fisheries of French North America.



Louis XIV

The Company of the West.—Although the method of governing by a company had proved so unsatisfactory, in the next year (1664) the trade and much of the government of Canada were handed over to a new company called the Company of the West, whose sphere included the whole of North and South America, the West Indies, and the slave stations on the west coast of Africa. It proved as unsatisfactory as its predecessors and in 1673 went bankrupt.

Defeat of the Iroquois.—Before Colbert's plans for Canada could be developed, it was necessary to crush

the Iroquois. Early in 1665 the Marquis de Tracy arrived in Canada with the title of Lieutenant-general of the King in North and South America; with him came the Carignan-Salières Regiment, veterans of the Turkish wars. During the summer forts were built at Sorel and along the Richelieu, and in the winter a bold but unsuccessful attack, led by the Governor, de Courcelles, was made upon the Mohawks. This only enraged the Indians, and in the spring of 1666 an Iroquois chief at Quebec, speaking at the Governor's table of a young Frenchman who had been killed, boldly waved his tomahawk and shouted, "This is the hand that split his head." But the days of Iroquois impunity were over; the insulter was promptly taken out to the court-yard and hanged before the eyes of his friends. Later in the year De Tracy led an expedition of over 1,200 men, regulars mixed with Canadian bush-rangers, who captured the Mohawk towns, burned their stores of provisions, and so thoroughly frightened them that the land had rest for twenty years. To keep the frontier, estates were given along the Richelieu to many of the officers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, on which by the offer of grants of land and other favours they induced many of their men to settle. The names of these officers are still perpetuated in such towns as Sorel, Chambly, Verchères.

Growth of Population.—The Iroquois thus cowed, the King and Colbert turned their attention to building up the population of the colony, which in 1663 contained barely 2,500 people. Ship-loads of emigrants were sent out, including wives for the soldiers, who, as we have seen, were encouraged to remain in the country. Penalties were imposed on all bachelors, a dowry was given to every married couple. Special gifts were made to every girl who married before the age of sixteen,



ARRIVAL OF URSULINES, 1639

and bounties given to all families with a certain number of children. Some of the immigrants proved unsatisfactory. Even Mother Mary of the Incarnation, the pious head of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec, speaks of one ship-load as "mixed goods," and of another as containing "a good deal of trash." But the good priests, whose influence in Canada was so great, had no desire to see our country peopled by the sweepings of the streets and the jails. Such bad characters as did not mend their ways were promptly shipped back to France; most of the other immigrants were decent, healthy peasants, worthy ancestors of the devoted fathers and mothers in the province of Quebec to-day. At the same time all kinds of farm implements and farm animals were sent out at the expense of the King. So popular did Canada become that in less than ten years the population rose to nearly ten thousand. Louis XIV became alarmed at the exodus of so many good fighting men from France, and in 1672 stopped the emigration in order to keep his soldiers for his wars in Europe.

The Intendant, Talon.—The chief instrument of Colbert's policy in Canada was not the Governor, but the Intendant, an official nominally in charge of legal matters, but really with his hand on all the springs of action in the colony. Jean Talon, the first Intendant, endeavoured in every way to develop the raw materials of the country, and to promote trade with the West Indies and with France. Surveyors were sent out in search of minerals; the iron mines of Radnor Forges and the copper mines of Lake Huron were first found by Talon's engineers. Agriculture was in every way encouraged; horses, sheep, and cattle were imported from France to improve the breeds; the people were ordered to grow hemp and other grains; bounties were given on soap, potash, and tar. Cod fisheries were established on the lower St. Lawrence, and seal fisheries on the Labrador coast; the white porpoises off the mouth of the Saguenay were hunted for their skin and oil. Ship-building was begun at the royal expense, and ship-loads of fish products and lumber were sent to the West Indies in return for sugar and molasses. To cure the inhabitants of their undue love of brandy, a brewery was established. In defiance of the ideas of the day, by which colonial trade was supposed to be entirely restricted to the mother country and the colonial market monopolized by her manufactures, Talon endeavoured to encourage trade between Canada and the New England colonies, and established a tannery, and factories for the making of cloth, hats, and shoes. But at this time the King looked on Canada with something of the same interest as a man takes in his favourite dog or yacht, and Talon's zeal was not rebuked.

Frontenac and Laval.—In 1673 there came out the ablest Governor New France ever had, Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac (1620–1698), a ruined noble, who

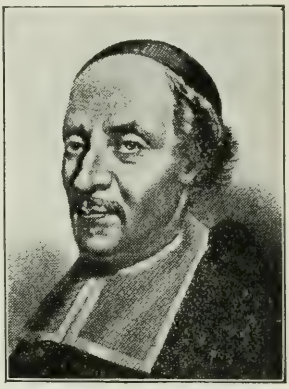
had spoiled a great career at Court by his insolent and uncontrollable temper. Though he came to Canada with no higher motive than that of restoring his fortunes, his courage, his skill, and his sagacity made him a notable figure. He was especially successful in dealing with the Indians, whom he treated as children, lavishing compliments and presents on them when good, but rebuking them haughtily when disobedient. In the Council he excelled their chiefs alike in dignity and in eloquence. In the war-dance his leaps and yells were wilder than their own. His arbitrary temper soon involved him in many quarrels, especially with the clergy, and in François de Laval (1623–1708) he met a spirit as intolerant and as dauntless as his own. In 1659 Laval had come out to Canada as head of the Church with the title of Vicar Apostolic, and Bishop of Petraea,* and in 1674 was made Bishop of Quebec. There had been for some time talk of founding a Canadian Bishopric, and the Sulpician clergy of Montreal had proposed to the King their Vicar Queylus, but the Jesuits, wishing to keep their control of the colony, succeeded in getting the Pope to appoint their protégé and pupil, Laval. Laval was unwearied in his work for Canada; the great University which bears his name dates from the Seminary



COUNT DE FRONTENAC

* Petraea is a town in Arabia; this title made Laval a bishop, without the necessity of obtaining the sanction of the King of France.

which he established for the training of priests; but in his resolve to be supreme in the colony, he fell foul of and vanquished successive governors till he met his match in Frontenac.



MONSEIGNEUR DE LAVAL

The Liquor Traffic.—Whatever we may think of the Bishop's ideal of priestly rule, in this quarrel we must sympathize with him. The greedy fur-traders found that no currency equalled brandy in the purchase of furs from the Indians. But fire-water turned the red men into fiends, and their chiefs again and again implored the French to keep the deadly liquor from them. When they came to barter, not only Quebec and Three Rivers, but every little out-of-the-way trading-post became a perfect hell on earth, with maddened Indians crazy with liquor. Against this traffic the Bishop and his clergy set their faces and defied even the Governor himself. Frontenac's answer was that even if he prevented the fur-traders from debauching the Indians with brandy, they would only take their furs to the English at Albany, there to buy rum. "Even if our brandy does them harm," he said, "it at least brings them into contact with our Catholicism. To do away with this trade will only drive them to rum and Protestantism." The controversy lasted till Frontenac was recalled by the King in 1682.

CHAPTER VII

THE SEIGNIORIAL SYSTEM

The First Canadian Parliament.—So far we have spoken of wars and of trade. We must now try to see what was the life of the people.

All the British colonies of the time, whether on the Atlantic coast of America or in the West Indies, had parliaments of their own. Canada was entirely different. Her government was modelled upon the despotism of Louis XIV in Old France; the royal officials were absolute. When he first came out, Frontenac endeavoured to summon the States-General of Canada, on the model of the States-General of France, a body which represented the people somewhat as Parliament did in England. Representatives of the Lords, Clergy, and Commons met at Quebec on October 23rd, 1672, but when Frontenac sent word of their proceedings to his Royal master, Colbert wrote in reply : "Your assembling of the inhabitants to take the oath of fidelity, and your division of them into three estates, may have had a good effect for the moment, but it is well for you to observe that you are always to follow, in the government of Canada, the forms in use here; and since our Kings have long regarded it as good for their service not to convoke the States-General of the Kingdom, in order, perhaps, insensibly to abolish this ancient usage, you, on your part, should very rarely, or to speak more correctly, never, give a corporate form to the inhabitants of Canada. You should even, as the colony strengthens, suppress gradually the office of the Syndic,

who presents petitions in the name of the inhabitants; for it is well that each should speak for himself, and no one for all." But though from this time on the inhabitants of Canada were entirely under the rule of the royal officials, we must remember that they came from a part of France which, till well on in the seventeenth century, had kept its Provincial Estates or Parliaments; their Norman origin gave them a shrewdness, an unwillingness to be imposed upon, a sense of personal dignity, which made them excellent material for the parliamentary rule of the future.

The Governor, Bishop, and Intendant.—Of the royal officials, the Governor was head, alike in civil and military matters. He was chosen by the King, and was invariably of noble birth. At the head of the clergy was the Bishop, appointed by the Pope on the nomination of the French King. Under him were the parish priests, whose influence over the people was very great. Still greater in the towns was the influence of the Orders of Jesuits, Franciscans, and Sulpicians, which, though not under the full control of the Bishop, worked in harmony with him. Education was in their hands, and was from the first made the handmaid of religion. To the ordinary man the most important official was the Intendant, who regulated with fatherly care the most minute details of the life of the colony. He was at the head of the administration of justice, and it was his special task to see that the common people were not in any way oppressed. As we may imagine, Governor, Intendant, and Bishop were often at variance, and the records at Paris are full of the long complaints which they wrote to the King about each other's encroachments.

The Council.—From very early times there had been a Council, which under the Company had consisted of the Governor, the Superior of the Jesuits, and five of

the chief inhabitants. Under royal rule it was formed of the Governor, Bishop, Intendant, and a varying number of councillors, which in 1703 was fixed at twelve. This Superior Council, as it was called, was partly a court of law, and partly an advisory body for the royal officials. None of the edicts of the Governor or of the Intendant were legal till registered by it, but this registration was a mere formality, never refused. Its members held office at the King's pleasure, usually for life.

Feudalism in Old France.—In any new country the holding of land is the main business. In the British colonies to the south, land had from the first been held in what is now the usual Canadian tenure, in freehold, or as it is legally termed in "free and common soccage." The tenure of land in Canada was very different, being copied from that in Old France. In the Middle Ages, when there was little law save the right of the strongest, the farmer, when unable to protect himself, had naturally taken shelter under the wing of a more powerful neighbour. This process had gone on till there grew up what we know as the Feudal System, under which all the land was supposed to belong to the King, who gave it out to a few great nobles, who let it out to lesser nobles, and they again to other tenants in return for certain dues, of which the most important was military service. As the country became more settled, the King tried to put an end to the private wars that were constantly carried on between the great families, and for some centuries the history of France centres round the struggle for power between King and nobles. Eventually the King won, and under Louis XIV (1643–1715) and his successors, most of the nobles instead of living at home and doing their duty by their tenants, flocked to Court in the attempt to attract the King's attention, and looked on their estates merely as possessions from

which their agents drew the incomes which they squandered at Versailles. The result was the increasing misery of the French farmer; and many writers seeing that apparently the same system was introduced into Canada, have represented the Canadian peasant as suffering the same misery. This, as we shall see, was far from being the case.

The Seigniorial System in Canada.—The land of Canada was given out to the Canadian nobles or seigniors in large tracts known as seigniories. Of these, three were given by the King before 1627; nearly sixty more by the Company of One Hundred Associates before 1663; after that, others by the King. These seigniories varied greatly in size; the smallest we know of was Minville, sixteen arpents* wide by fifty long, or a little more than a square mile in size; on the other hand Gobin was ten leagues by twelve, and included rather more than 1,000 square miles. The seigniory was oblong in shape, with its shorter side on the River St. Lawrence or the Richelieu.

In return for this grant of land what did the seignior give his King?

1. He vowed fealty and homage. In his oath of homage was included a strict obligation to perform such military service as the sovereign commanded.

2. Within forty days he was compelled to hand in a map (*aveu*) and a census (*denombrement*) of the new estate. From these returns we can still draw a map of New France, and tell how the people lived.

3. When a seigniory changed hands, except by direct descent from father to son, the seignior was compelled to pay to the Crown a *Quint*, or one fifth of the supposed value of the seigniory. Of this payment it

*An arpent was either a square, or a linear measure. A square arpent was a little less than an acre; a linear arpent was 192 feet.

was the custom of the King to remit one third. The usual payment was very small, and even under British rule when the price of land had greatly increased, the total value of the *Quint* to the Crown was less than $1,500 a year.

4. The Crown kept back for itself certain reservations. Of these the chief were the right to take from the seigniory (*a*) land for fortification, (*b*) timber suitable for use in the Royal Navy, (*c*) royalties upon mines and minerals, (*d*) rights of way, (*e*) the use of beaches.

Of this land the seignior and his family cultivated such part as they chose, and let out the remainder either to sub-seigniors or directly to tenant farmers. We must notice that whereas the peasant in Old France was usually known as the *censitaire*, the man who paid rent, or the *roturier*, the man whose turn it was to own the land, in Canada he had the more dignified title of *habitant* or dweller on the soil. The rent paid by the *habitant* fell into three parts: (*a*) the *cens et rentes;* (*b*) the *lods et ventes;* (*c*) military service in time of war. Of these the *cens* was a small payment of one or more cents per arpent of front. The *rentes* was a larger due, payable either in money or in kind, amounting in value to several cents per square arpent. In the little colony where money was scarce, it was usually stipulated that the farmer might give in payment a pig, or a cow, or a certain number of chickens. The payment became due at Michaelmas (November 11th), and was the occasion for a great annual jollification on the part of the peasants. "Every Autumn," writes the Abbé Casgrain, "as Michaelmas approached, the seignior warned his inhabitants at the Church door after mass, that their *cens et rentes* were payable. As soon as the winter roads were good, the Manor House became the centre of as lively activity as the Presbytère is to-day when the inhabitants assemble

to pay their tithes. Some arrived in carryalls, some in sleighs, each bringing with him a chicken or two, oats by the bushel, or other products of his land. Sometimes the shrewd Norman would pay in grain or fowl when prices were low, and in money when prices were high, but more often the seignior insisted in the deed that he should choose the method of payment." When all were assembled there was, in the words of Parkman, "a prodigious consumption of tobacco, and a corresponding retail of neighbourhood gossip, joined to the outcries of the captive fowls bundled together, with legs securely tied, but with throats at full liberty." With drink, and smoke, and good cheer, and good fellowship, it was often early morning before the gathering broke up.

The payment of *lods et ventes* by the *habitants* corresponded to the payment of the *Quint* by the seignior, being a payment of one twelfth of the value of the land by the *habitant* to the seignior, whenever the land changed hands by other than direct inheritance from father to son. Of this the seignior usually remitted one third, though he was under no legal compulsion to do so.

Between *habitant* and seignior there seems to have been much squabbling, but also much good fellowship. The Norman peasant is never so happy as when he has a grievance. The seigniories were often given out without a survey, and thus boundary disputes arose; often the payments were not specified in the deed but depended upon custom, and it took a vast deal of friendly bickering to prove what the custom was; sometimes the deed, drawn up by a clever lawyer, gave the seignior more than the *habitant* had intended to pay. But on the whole their relations were very friendly. They lived together, worked together, fought together; even if the seignior went up to Quebec for a month's

gaiety in the winter, it was a very simple gaiety compared with that of the French court, and did not cost much.

The Banalities.—One of the greatest wrongs of the feudal system in Old France was the right of banality, by which the lord could compel the peasant to bring his corn to be ground at the feudal mill, his bread to be baked in the feudal oven, his grapes to be pressed at the feudal wine-press. Other oppressive privileges, similar in nature, though not called banalities, were that the lord could exact forced labour from the peasant, or hunt over his fields, which often meant the utter destruction of the grain. In fact, the French peasant was, as the saying went, *taillable et corvéable à merci*, "taxable and workable at will." In Canada it was very different. Hunting was carried on in the woods, not in the fields; no wine was made; only one attempt was ever made to enforce the oven banality; the exactions of forced labour were not frequent, and the number of days was usually restricted to three, one in seed time, one at hay-making, and one in harvest; the mill banality was enforced, and the peasant paid one fourteenth for the privilege of having his grain ground, but in practice this only meant that the seignior was compelled to keep up a good mill, which usually did not pay the miller's salary.

The Church and the Manor House.—Thus by the end of the seventeenth century both banks of the St. Lawrence, from a little above Montreal to a little below Quebec, were so thickly settled that they had the appearance of a long straggling village divided by a wide street. At frequent intervals rose the spire of a church, for we must not forget that religion played a part among the French Canadians of the seventeenth century greater even than it does to-day. Every few

miles the manor house of the seignior was seen, usually not much bigger than the cottage of the *habitant*. In his priest and his seignior the *habitant* found leaders to whom he looked in all moments of perplexity and peril.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EXPLORERS

Slow Growth of the Colony.—Though by 1663 there were over one hundred, and by 1763 several thousand farms in the colony, France never, save for the first few years of royal rule (1663–1673), grasped the fact that a successful colony must be rooted in the soil. More than once during the eighteenth century, long after so fertile a land should have been self-supporting, should indeed have been exporting grain, Canada was only saved from starvation by the help of the mother country. The two chief influences in the life of the colony were the priest and the fur-trader. The object of the priest was the saving of souls, and whether they were in Old or in New France mattered not. To colonization the fur-trader was absolutely hostile, because settlement drove the wild animals farther and farther afield. Later on we shall see that the settlement of the West was blocked by the Hudson's Bay Company in just the same way.

The English and French Rivalry for the Fur-trade.—To the south, along the Atlantic sea-board, English colonies were now growing up. Of these Maryland had been founded as a home for persecuted Roman Catholics, and the six northern colonies, known as New England, by Puritan exiles. But in spite of their strong religious life, they made little attempt to rival the French in missionary zeal, and in general, in spite of the noble work of John Eliot (1604–1690), paid little attention to the souls of the Indians. Benjamin Frank-

iin (1706–1790) even wrote that in his opinion rum had been created by the Almighty to kill off the Coast Indians, and thereby to bring the land into the possession of the white race. But in the fur-trade the English colonies had a lively interest, and it was rivalry with them which shaped much of the early history of Canada. Pushing up the Penobscot and the Kennebec, the English came in contact with the Indians or sought by the Oswego and the Mohawk to divert the furs of Lake Ontario from Montreal to New York. In this contest each power had some advantages. The furs were paid for, not in money but in manufactured goods and in strong drink. The former were much better and cheaper in New York than in Quebec, and though the Indian preferred the taste of French brandy, English rum was much the cheaper and the same amount of furs would buy a more prolonged debauch. Hence the French were driven farther and farther afield in the attempt to find new markets among new tribes, or to deal with the Indians before they reached the nearest English post, and much of the early exploration of Canada and of the Western States was due to the search for furs. In this the French had the advantage. With them the fur-trade was much more under royal protection than it was with the English, and the expense of garrisoning the distant posts, some of which have since grown into great cities,* was largely borne by the King. Besides, there seems to be something wild and roving in the French character, which gives them a greater sympathy with savage races. Hence there grew up a class of men known as *coureurs-de-bois*, who roamed by lake and stream in quest of furs, grew wild and cruel as the Indians themselves, and in many cases took to

* For example, Detroit, founded by La Mothe Cadillac in 1701



COUREUR DE BOIS

wife one or more of the soft-eyed daughters of the forest. This was not unknown among the English; but as a class the *coureurs-de-bois* were French and French only. The character of the colonists and the geography of the continent also aided the French. The English in New England and New York were for the most part decent, orderly farmers who settled on the land, and had no care for a roving life. Among the French were many younger sons of the lesser nobility, who had no love for farming; war and the chase had been their profession in the Old World, and in Canada they turned naturally to the wild, free life of the woods. Farther south, there were indeed among the English of Virginia many lawless blades, but they were shut in by the mountains, while the French were led by nature along a vast system of lakes and rivers direct into the heart of the continent.

Various Motives for Exploration.—But we must not give to the fur-trade alone the credit for the exploring zeal of the French. We may ascribe it to four distinct motives, which had varying weight with varying natures: (*a*) Heart-hunger for adventure and the unknown,

(*b*) The desire for furs, (*c*) Religious zeal, (*d*) Patriotism—the desire to win new countries for the King. In some of the great explorers all these may be found; in some, one or other is lacking.

Nicolet.—Of the early wanderings of Champlain we have already spoken. In 1618 he had left among the Indians a young Norman named Jean Nicolet, who for many years dwelt among the Indians, sometimes on good terms with them, sometimes in danger of his life, once at least exposed to torture. Soon after the giving back of Canada to France (1632), Nicolet returned to Three Rivers, and in 1634 set out westward. The hope of finding China was still strong, and he took with him a robe of brocaded silk to wear when the long-expected road to the South Sea should have been found and crossed, and the land of the Grand Khan should open before his dazzled eyes. Up the Ottawa he went, across by Lake Nipissing and the French River to Georgian Bay, where he renewed acquaintance with his old friends the Hurons, and went on till, first of white men, he reached the straits of Sault Ste. Marie. Here he turned south, and followed the shore to the straits of Mackinac, where the waters of the Great Lakes divide. Hence he pushed on to the southern end of Green Bay on Lake Michigan, and came for the first time into contact with a race of the great Dacotah stock, the Winnebagoes. Still tending southwards he seems to have reached the Illinois tribe, and to have met the Sioux on one of their eastern expeditions. In 1635 he came back to Green Bay, joined one of the usual fur-trading flotillas of canoes, and returned to Three Rivers. Nicolet had reached the verge of the Great West, but its mysteries were still unrevealed.

Radisson and Groseilliers found the Hudson's Bay Company.—For twenty years no further progress was

made in western exploration. The Jesuits were busy with their missions among the Hurons and the Iroquois, and the fur-trader was content with the flotillas which came yearly down the Ottawa. The work of Nicolet was taken up by two fur-traders of Three Rivers, Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, and his brother-in-law, Pierre Esprit Radisson. Of these two, usually known as Groseilliers and Radisson, the latter was the younger and the more adventurous. Before he was twenty he had fought against the Iroquois and taken scalps; had been captured, put to the torture, and for his bravery adopted into the tribe; had escaped to the Dutch at Albany, and at last found his way to Three Rivers. In reading his journals we must remember that he was better with paddle and gun than with pen; that he was wandering in an almost unknown country, and in search not of geographical knowledge, but of furs; so that exactly where he went is hard to say. Thus when he tells us that "this nation have wars against those of the Forked River, ... so called because it has two branches the one towards the west the other towards the south," we really cannot tell whether he meant the junction of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi, or that of the Missouri and the Mississippi rivers. He was fond of cheery boasting and exaggeration, so that we must often take his story with a grain of salt. About 1659 the brothers-in-law, who had formed a partnership in the fur-trade, went far to the west, and came out on the great plains among the Crees and the Sioux, returning by the western end of Lake Superior, which they were thus the first to round. Whether they reached the Mississippi or only one of its tributaries we shall never know, but they were certainly the discoverers of the Great West. In 1660 they were back in Quebec, passing on their way down the Ottawa the still smoking ruins

of Daulac's fort. In the next year they stole away against the orders of the Governor, who refused them a license unless they would share with him the profits, and went in search of the Northern Sea of which they had heard from the Crees, reaching the watershed of Hudson Bay, and perhaps the shores of James Bay itself. In 1663 they got into another quarrel with the Governor and had most of their furs confiscated, so they stole off to Boston, where some English Commissioners, who were in America investigating colonial matters, induced them to return with them to England. Here the adventurers were well received, even if some of the populace corrupted their names into Gooseberry and Radishes. Groseilliers, in company with a Boston friend named Zachary Gillam, sailed in 1668 for Hudson Bay, whence he brought back so fine a cargo of furs that in 1670 he and Radisson were able to found the great Hudson's Bay Company, with the King's cousin, Prince Rupert, formerly a dashing cavalry captain in the Civil War, but now grown old and scientific, as their first Governor. To this Company King Charles II was most generous of that which cost him nothing. They were given the sole right to trade in furs, or fish, complete and entire possession of the land, and of all mines within it, the sole right to administer justice and erect buildings, in "all these seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance to the Straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the land and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines" of the same. Little as he knew it, the "Merry Monarch" had granted to them the possession of over 1,000,000 square miles of territory. For all this they were to pay him "two black elks and two black beavers," whenever he or his successors entered the lands which he had granted.

But the French had no mind to give up their claim to a region so rich in furs, because an English King had signed a paper, and had sent two renegade Frenchmen to trade with the natives. In 1672 the Jesuit Albanel, sent by Talon, reached the shores of James Bay, and took possession of the region for France, thus ushering in forty years of fighting, in much of which Radisson and Groseilliers took part, now on one side, now on the other. The brothers-in-law soon quarrelled with Charles Bailey, the English official at the Bay, a red-faced and choleric John Bull, who hated Frenchmen, so they promptly went off to Quebec, and then to Paris, where they were quickly taken into favour. In 1682 we find Radisson again at the Bay, where he found a ship of the Hudson's Bay Company commanded by his old friend Gillam, with the Company's factor on board. Sailing up the Hayes River, Radisson found another ship, trading without a license, commanded by Gillam's son, Ben; the wily New Englanders were taking the Company's pay with one hand, and robbing it with the other. During the winter Radisson's two ships were caught and broken by the ice, but he played off one New England party against the other, and finally captured them both and took them off to Quebec. When the Indians who came in the spring to trade seemed inclined to take the part of the English, who offered better prices, Radisson put so brave a face on it that soon every Indian was on his side. At Quebec the weak Governor, La Barre, released the British ship, which so angered Radisson that, though he returned to Paris, he soon stole away to London. Here he was again taken into favour by the Company, went back to the Bay, captured from his nephew, young Groseilliers, some 12,000 pelts, the produce of a whole year's trade, and goods worth 8,000 more, and came back to England in triumph (1684). We hear of him

last in 1710, still in the service of the Company, from whom he drew a well-deserved pension—dauntless, cheery, and boastful as ever.

Radisson is a type of the *coureur-de-bois*. He believed in God, as a man must who has lain by night under the stars, and seen Orion and the Bear wheel in their courses; but whether a man was Roman Catholic or Protestant mattered not a straw to him. He made equally little distinction between England and France, between King Louis and King Charles. But though his religion was his own, and though patriotism was to him but a name, he was so fearless, so cheery, so infinitely resourceful, that to read his journals is to love him. In his time he was false to Canada and to Massachusetts, to France and to England; but he was ever true to the wild wood and the open sky and the fur chase, whether along river and rapid, or in the Frozen Sea, and when his time came, he could have said as fearlessly as did Stevenson:

> "Under the wide and starry sky
> Dig the grave, and let me lie.
> Glad did I live and gladly die,
> And I laid me down with a will."

La Salle.—But the knightliest figure among the fur-traders and the one who most recalls the heroes of romance was René Robert Cavelier de la Salle, the son of a wealthy but untitled family of Rouen. La Salle came to Canada in 1667 and was granted by the Sulpicians a large seigniory just above Montreal, to which his friends, in mockery of his early dreams that along the St. Lawrence lay the path to China and the East, gave the name of Lachine. For a year or two he cultivated his seigniory, ploughed the land, and tried to bring settlers out from France. But his heart was ill at ease at the tales brought by fur-traders and Indians from the West, and in 1669 he set out in company with two priests in search of furs,

of souls to save, of adventure. Near the site of the present city of Hamilton he met with another party under Louis Joliet, an energetic young Canadian fur-trader, returning from Lake Huron, to which he had been sent by the Intendant Talon in search of copper. After their parting La Salle's movements are uncertain. Some hold that he reached the Ohio, and floated down its waters to the Mississippi. The first is possible, the second unlikely.



Sieur de la Salle

Joliet and Marquette.—It was a time of great activity. In 1672 Father Albanel had reached James Bay overland. In the same year Joliet wintered in Michilimackinac, where he became the fast friend of Father Marquette, a Jesuit priest at this western Mission. In the spring of the next year (1673) the priest and the fur-trader, saint and business man, set out together, crossed Green Bay, reached the Wisconsin River, and floated down to the Mississippi. Past the mouths of the Missouri, the Ohio, and the Arkansas they went; but here in fear of the Spaniards, who still brooked no rival in their domains, they turned back. Marquette, broken in health, remained at Michilimackinac till 1675, when in an attempt to return to civilization he died. Near Montreal Joliet and his canoe were upset in the Lachine Rapids, and though the explorer escaped, his papers were lost, and the accounts which we have of his voyage are drawn from his later recollections.

Foundation of Fort Frontenac.—Almost on the same day that Joliet and Marquette turned back from the Arkansas, Frontenac had founded a fort at Cataraqui, now Kingston, where Lake Ontario, the Bay of Quinte, the River St. Lawrence, and the Rideau system come together, and had put La Salle in charge of it. Fort Frontenac,

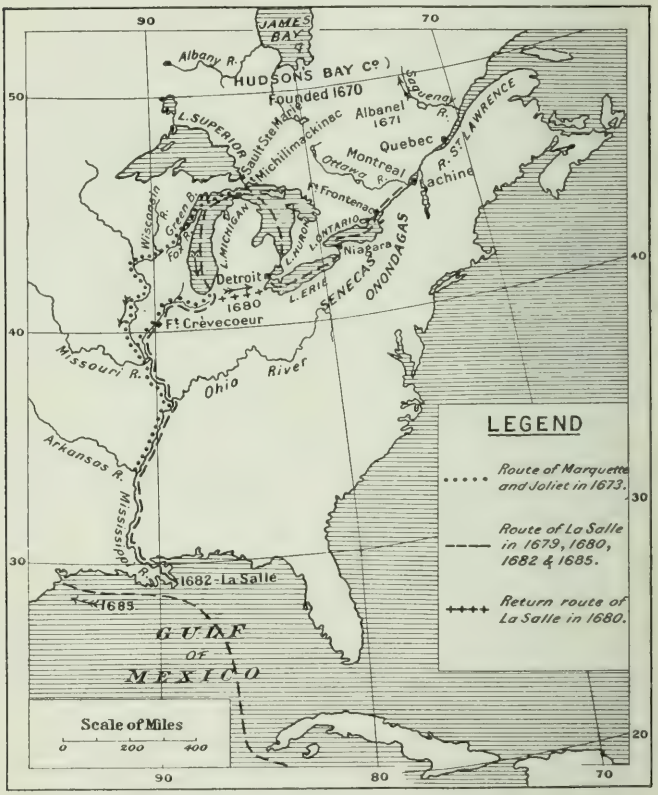


JOLIET'S EARLIEST MAP

as it was called, soon became the rendezvous for the western Indians, and La Salle obtained an almost unrivalled knowledge of Indian languages and customs.

La Salle Explores the Mississippi.—Much could be written of his life in the next few years—of his return to France, and his friendship with the Italian soldier, Tonti of the iron hand; of his life at Fort Frontenac and his fur-trading with the Indians; of the intrigues against him of the Jesuits and of rival fur-traders at Quebec; of how he built a vessel, the *Griffin*, on Lake

Erie, sailed in her to Green Bay, loaded her with furs and sent her home (1679); of how he wintered among the Illinois, and in the spring heard that the *Griffin* had gone down with all hands, leaving him a ruined man;



Routes of Marquette, La Salle, Etc.

of how he made his lonely way back to Fort Frontenac, a thousand miles in canoe and on foot (1680); but we must pass on to the greatest adventure of all.

From his own wanderings and from the stories of Joliet, he knew now that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, and not, as he had once thought, into the South Sea, and in his heart there grew up the plan of descending the river to its mouth and there founding a city. To it should come the merchandise of France; meanwhile, from far and near the Indians should bring their furs to his fort on the Illinois, and the Father of Waters should be the link that bound them. Far from his rivals at Montreal and Quebec, he would serve his King in this great new region brought by him under the banner of France and the kindly sway of Mother Church.

In December, 1681, he and his men rendezvoused near the present city of Chicago, went on sledges to the Illinois and thence along the ice to open water, and sailed down and ever down past many an Indian village, with a thousand marvels opening before their astonished gaze, till at last they came out on the broad gulf, and in pride set up near the mouth of the river a pillar on which were the words:

LOUIS LE GRAND, ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REGNE: LE NEUVIEME AVRIL, 1682*

Then, with shouts of *vive le roi*, and volleys of musketry, the whole vast basin of the Mississippi was taken possession of for the King of France.

Death of La Salle.—In 1684 La Salle returned to his native land, won the favour of the King, and was sent out to found a colony at the mouth of the river which he had explored. But he missed the entrance to the

* Louis the Great, King of France and of Navarre, reigns: April 9th, 1682.

river, his men mutinied, and the greatest of Canadian explorers was shot by the mutineers somewhere amid the swamps and the prairies of Texas (March 19th, 1687).

Foundation of New Orleans.—But though La Salle died, his great thought lived on; at the beginning of the next century the heroic Le Moyne d'Iberville, one of a family which has ever since been prominent in Canadian history, built a fort near the mouth of the Mississippi; in 1718 his brother, Le Moyne de Bienville, founded what is now the city of New Orleans.

CHAPTER IX

I. A HALF CENTURY OF CONFLICT
II. ACADIA
III. CAPE BRETON

I

Renewed Iroquois Attacks.—The days after the departure of Frontenac recalled those of thirty years before. In place of the great Governor came De La Barre, who had been Intendant in the West Indies. He was old and covetous, proved himself utterly unable to control the Iroquois, and had to be recalled in disgrace. His successor, the Marquis de Denonville, was a brave soldier, but found himself in a difficult situation, for it was now clear that the Iroquois were being urged on by the English fur-traders of New York.

Quarrels with New York.—This little colony at the mouth of the Hudson had been founded by the Dutch, but in the reign of King Charles II had been seized by the English. It was of great importance to them, for by the foundation of Quebec, and by the journeys of La Salle, the French were in control of the two great water-ways of North America. New York and Albany gave to the English the line of the Hudson, by which they were able to pierce the mountains, and contend with France for control of the interior. Thus when Denonville laid claim, on grounds of discovery and of exploration, to the Iroquois country and the Upper Lakes, Colonel Thomas Dongan, the energetic Irish governor of New York, wrote to him: "Pardon me if I say it is a mistake, except you will affirm that a few loose fellows, rambling

about among Indians to keep themselves from starving, gives the French a right to the country."

The Massacre of Lachine.—Denonville treacherously seized on some friendly Iroquois at Fort Frontenac (1687), and sent their chiefs to France to the galleys; then he did his best to cow the Senecas by leading an expedition into their country; but they were only angered, not quelled, and in the night of August 4th, 1689, amid a violent hail-storm, 1,500 warriors fell upon the village of Lachine, and wreaked such vengeance as after two hundred years still fills us with horror. Some 200 were killed on the spot, and over 100 men, women, and children were tortured before the eyes of their friends with all the resources of Indian deviltry.

The Three War Parties.—The King had already written to recall the Governor, and in Canada's direst need the old lion Frontenac, now seventy years of age, was sent out. On his arrival he at once resolved to strike, and to strike hard, at the English, who had urged on the Iroquois, in order thus to hearten his allies and take vengeance on his foes. At Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, three war parties of *coureurs-de-bois* and friendly Indians were equipped. Early in 1690 they were ready. That at Montreal was under the command of D'Aillebout de Mantet, and Le Moyne de Sainte-Helene, under whom were his two brothers, Le Moyne d'Iberville and Le Moyne de Bienville. Through the snow and mud and slush of a January thaw they forced their way, fell upon the sleeping village of Schenectady, massacred the sleeping English and Dutch inhabitants, and then, loaded with booty and with prisoners, retreated to Montreal, pursued almost to its gates, but in vain, by the furious Mohawks. Meanwhile François Hertel de Rouville had left Three Rivers, and after

a long march through the woods, burst upon Salmon Falls, on the borders of New Hampshire, where the same scenes of blood and torture and pillage were repeated. On their retreat the English caught them at the Wooster River, but Hertel made so brave a stand that the pursuit was abandoned, and he was able to lead most of his men to join the third band, which had left Quebec in January under a Canadian officer named Portneuf. Thus reinforced, the third party attacked Fort Loyal, on Casco Bay, on the site of the present city of Portland. It was soon captured, similar scenes of horror were enacted, and the fort was levelled with the ground. The prestige of France was restored, but from the three war-parties we must date that half-century of conflict which left desolate so many American and Canadian homes.

The English Fail to Take Quebec.—In fierce rage the Massachusetts men resolved to smoke out this hornet's nest, and a fleet and army were sent against Quebec under Sir William Phips, a ship's carpenter who had grown rich by rescuing Spanish treasure from a sunken galleon. These captured Port Royal in Acadia, but Frontenac was too much for them. He concentrated every man in the colony at Quebec, and to Phips' demand for surrender haughtily replied: "I will answer your general only by the mouth of my cannon." Phips



MEDAL STRUCK IN PARIS TO COMMEMORATE THE DEFENCE OF QUEBEC IN 1690 (OBVERSE)

landed his militia on the Beauport shore; they fought well, but could make little impression; the ammunition was wasted in a useless cannonade; smallpox broke out; and amid defeat and gloom the New Englanders drew off. The Puritan bowed before the will of God, "and searched his conscience for the sin that had brought upon him so stern a chastisement."



MEDAL STRUCK IN PARIS TO COMMEMORATE THE DEFENCE OF QUEBEC IN 1690 (REVERSE)

Meanwhile the misgovernment of King James II had forced the English nobility to drive him from the throne, which fell to his nephew, William of Orange. James found refuge in France, and between 1690 and 1713 the two nations grappled in two terrible wars, in the latter of which the great Duke of Marlborough won his fame. During all these years Canada and the British colonies made raid after raid upon each other. In Hudson Bay the French did great deeds, under the heroic young Le Moyne d'Iberville, who with one ship took two British ships and put to flight a third, captured Fort Nelson (1697), and in all things showed himself a most gallant and chivalrous gentleman. In 1711 an expedition was sent out against Quebec, under General Hill and Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker. But "Jack" Hill was a mere courtier, who owed his promotion to the Queen's love for his sister; Walker was a pompous fool; the fleet was wrecked in a fog at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on one of the Egg Islands;

eight ships were lost; hundreds of gallant sailors were drowned, and a thousand of Marlborough's veterans. Walker and Hill sailed back in disgrace and shame.

Forty Years of Slow Progress.—For the next forty years Canada has little history. Though peace was made in 1713, from time to time fighting went on along the border. Men and women were born and lived and died;



QUEBEC IN 1700

love and hatred and envy wrought upon them; between 1710 and 1750 the population of Canada doubled; and that is all there is to tell.

II

Acadia.—What had been the history of the Atlantic sea-board since De Monts and Champlain abandoned it for Quebec in 1607? The unhappy story of Acadia

is a tangle of squabble and intrigue among rival fur-traders, both in the colony and at court, a tangle soon still further complicated by the Puritans of Boston. In 1613 a lawless expedition from Virginia, under Samuel Argall, destroyed De Poutrincourt's little colony at Port Royal, but under his son, Biencourt, it struggled into life again. Biencourt died young, and his rights passed into the hands of the Huguenot, Claude de la Tour, and of his daring and resourceful son Charles. Claude de la Tour had a trading post at the mouth of the Penobscot, while Charles established himself at Port La Tour, near Cape Sable.

England Attempts to Colonize Nova Scotia.—Meanwhile King James of England had granted Acadia to a Scotch nobleman, Sir William Alexander, who sent out a few colonists, and made a good deal of money by selling estates in his new realm. The purchasers, who were granted by the King the title of baronets of Nova Scotia, seem to have made no attempt at settlement. Sir William, a thrifty Scot, had his eye on the fur-trade, and soon founded a company, one of the members of which was Sir David Kirke, of whom we have already spoken.

The La Tours.—In 1628, during the war between England and France, Kirke and his brothers captured the French forts, and carried Claude de la Tour a captive to England. Here he married one of the Queen's maids-of-honour, turned English, was made a baronet of Nova Scotia, came back with two ships and attacked his son's position, but was repulsed. Charles, however, wishing to have a foot in either camp, accepted a baronetcy, while he continued to demand from France the title of Lieutenant-governor, which was finally accorded him. In 1632 Acadia was restored to France, and in spite of La Tour's commission, Isaac de Razilly was sent out from France

as Lieutenant-governor, with 300 colonists. He established himself at Lahave, with a branch establishment at Port Royal. La Tour kept his post at Cape Sable, and set up another at the mouth of the St. John. Continual squabbles went on between him and Razilly and the Massachusetts men, who claimed the territory round the Penobscot. After a few years Razilly died, and his rights passed to his nephew, Charnisay, who made his headquarters at Port Royal, brought out a number of families at his own expense, and did his best to build up a permanent colony. From Port Royal the settlers spread to the fertile salt marshes along the Basin of Minas, and around Grand Pré a small population of kindly, ignorant farmers grew up, who tilled their fields and brought up sons and daughters, and were happy in having no history. Charnisay might have made a success of Acadia, but La Tour would not let him alone, and there was continual fighting and continual intrigue in France, each endeavouring to get the King on his side. In 1643, Charnisay, who was on the whole the stronger, besieged La Tour and his wife, but they escaped, and made off to Boston. There the coming of these supposed "Papists" gave great concern to the New Englanders; but La Tour edified them by his devotion, was granted permission to enlist volunteers, and soon returned to the Bay of Fundy with sufficient ships and men to drive off his rival. Money for this expedition was advanced him by a trustful Bostonian; it was never repaid.

Soon afterwards we hear of La Tour in Newfoundland, in vain endeavouring to get help from Sir David Kirke; in 1646 he went to Quebec, where he remained for four years, and where his Catholic piety edified the good priests as much as his Protestantism had the Bostonians. Meanwhile his heroic wife, Marie Jacquelin, had been endeavouring to hold Fort La Tour

at the mouth of the St. John, against Charnisay, though she had hardly fifty men against his five hundred. Once she beat him off, but on Easter Monday, 1645, he fought his way into the fort after heavy loss, captured it, and forced Madame La Tour to look on with a halter round her neck at the execution of her faithful followers. The shock was too great, and in a few weeks the heroine of Acadia died of a broken heart.

Charnisay now had a monopoly of the fur-trade; he arranged his differences with the Bostonians, and persuaded them to abandon La Tour, but just when his prosperity seemed secure, he was drowned by the upsetting of a canoe in the harbour of Port Royal. The ingenious La Tour then tried to bring harmony into the colony by marrying his rival's widow, but other claimants to the property had arisen, and the disputes went on till in 1654 a body of New England soldiers, led by Major Robert Sedgwick, with a commission from Oliver Cromwell, seized Acadia. La Tour was equal to the emergency, went to England, won the favour of the Protector, and with some English partners was given a grant of the colony. In 1666 he died at Port Royal, leaving to his widow a fine establishment, though much encumbered by debt.

England Captures Acadia.—In 1667 Acadia was restored to France. In 1690 Port Royal was captured by a New England expedition under Sir William Phips, but was soon restored; in 1710 it was again captured by a combined British and New England force, and its name changed to Annapolis Royal, in honour of the English Queen. But no real attempt at settlement was made until 1749, when Halifax was founded, and several thousand colonists sent out.

III

Cape Breton.—About the middle of the seventeenth century, King Louis XIV granted the island of Cape

Breton to one Nicholas Denys, but poor Denys soon found, like many another, that though no one had wanted it previously, hardly had he assumed possession before various rivals discovered that it was the very thing they had long desired. Worn out with years of squabbling, he returned at last to France, and published a very interesting book, called "A geographical and historical description of the coasts of North America," which tells us all about the early fishing stations and their methods of curing fish. Denys is the first person to speak of the Cape Breton coal, which crops out all along the cliffs of the east coast from Sydney southwards. From this time on, as we learn from Sir Hovenden Walker, "the island has always been used in common both by the English and French for loading coals, which are extraordinarily good here, and taken out of the cliffs by iron crow-bars only, and no other labour."

Louisbourg.—In 1713 the war was brought to an end by the Peace of Utrecht. England had not done much in North America, but in Europe her victories had been so complete that she was able to demand from France the cession of all her claims to Acadia and to the Hudson Bay territory, known by Great Britain as Rupert's Land. Cape Breton was kept by France, to guard the mouth of the St. Lawrence and to give her a shelter for her fishing fleet; on it there soon arose the great fortress of Louisbourg.

English Capture of Louisbourg.—Louisbourg had a splendid harbour, but the country around was bleak and barren, and the little settlement did not prosper. The officials sent out pined for *la belle France*, and stayed only to enrich themselves by corruption. The fortifications, though badly built and never completed, cost over $6,000,000, an enormous sum for those days. The King sent out to ask whether they were paving the

streets with gold. In 1745 France and England were again at war, and the French privateers found Louisbourg an excellent base from which to prey on the shipping of Boston. The hardy New Englanders gathered together 4,000 militia, and sent them, under Colonel William Pepperell, to attack the fortress. Though they were aided by a small British fleet under Commodore Warren, it seemed a foolhardy attempt; but Duchambon, the commandant, was an incompetent poltroon, while Pepperell, though a country gentleman without experience in war, showed real military skill, and infinite tact in managing his militia. On an island in the mouth of the harbour was a battery, and till this was taken Warren could not enter. A night attack was beaten back, sixty men died in the bloody surf, and 120 were taken prisoners; but the New Englanders forced a landing at Gabarus Bay, to the west of the town, dragged their guns overland through the marshes, and pressed their attack so fiercely that after forty-seven days of siege Duchambon was forced to surrender with 2,000 men. The thrifty New Englanders kept the French flag flying for some days longer, and so lured into the harbour a number of French merchantmen. In 1748, however, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, greatly to the anger of New England, and against the will of King George II, the British Cabinet gave back Louisbourg, in return for Madras on the south-east coast of India, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The great fight for North America was still to come.

CHAPTER X

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756-63)

To the men of the eighteenth century the war of which we have now to tell seemed a European struggle; they spoke of the splendid generalship of King Frederick the Great of Prussia, and of the alliance against him of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of King Louis XV of France; they laughed at the "War of the Three Petticoats;" but we can now see that it was not a personal quarrel, not even a question of the rise of Prussia into a great state, but a struggle for world-empire.

The French Plans in North America.—The government of France was already falling into the decay which thirty years later brought on the French Revolution; the King's chief minister himself described it as "a spendthrift anarchy." But even in her decay the ideas and the ambitions of France were regal. Quebec and New Orleans controlled the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, those two great roads into the heart of the Continent; one mighty hand stretched out to grasp the sea-coast at Louisbourg, the other clutched at the valley of the Ohio. At every strategic point along the St. Lawrence system, the French had established an armed post; you can follow them on the map. On the Mississippi they had settlements at St. Louis, and farther north at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Possession of the Ohio would unite the two river-systems, and hem in the English between the rivers and the sea.

The British Plans.—The British plans were at first sight much less imposing. Though the population of the British colonies in 1750 was about 1,500,000 white men and 500,000 slaves, they were settled almost entirely in the narrow coast plain between the Atlantic and the mountains. But just about the time that the French were striving to bind together their settlements on the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the frontiersmen from New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia began to top the ridge of the Alleghanies and to stream down into the fertile valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. The listener could hear

> The tread of pioneers,
> Of nations yet to be,
> The first low wash of waves where soon
> Shall roll a human sea.

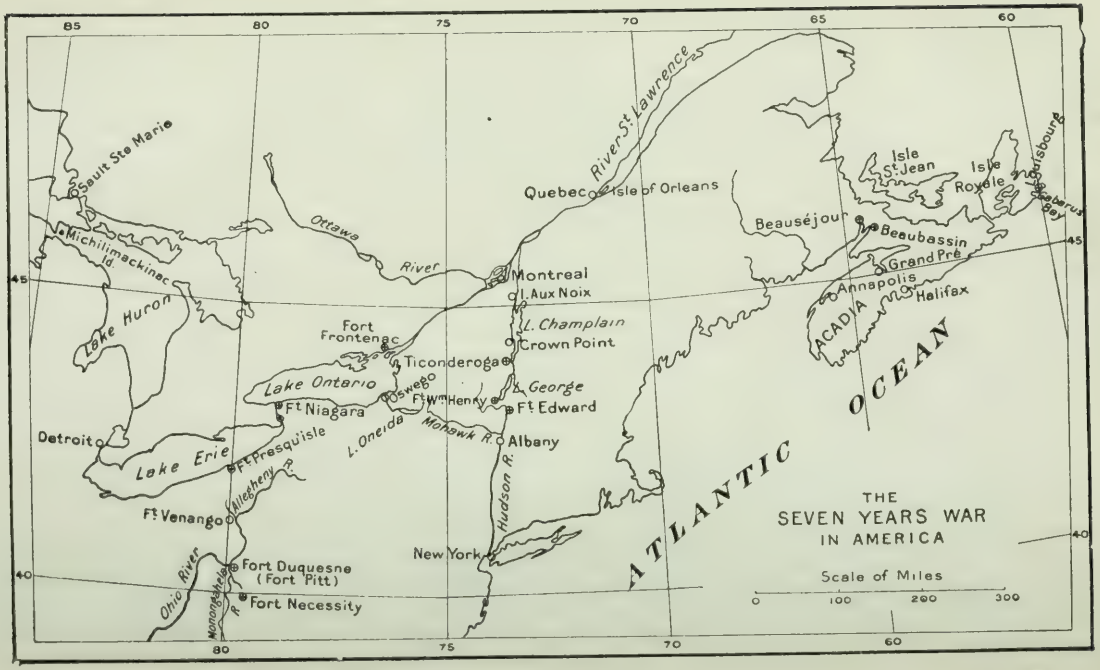
The French had soldiers, but the English had settlers, and in such a contest the axe of the woodsman will in the long run vanquish the musket and the sword.

The Struggle for the Ohio Valley.—In 1753 the French sailed up Lake Erie, built a fort at Presqu'île where the town of Erie now stands, cut a road through to French Creek, a tributary of the Allegheny, and built a fort at the junction of road and river. In the next year they pushed on to the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, where the great town of Pittsburg now stands amid its furnaces and factories, overpowered a force of Virginians whom they found on the spot, and built a fort, called after the Governor of Canada, Fort Duquesne. Dinwiddie, the Scotch Governor of Virginia, at once sent the finest athlete and bush-fighter in his colony, George Washington, to retake it. On the way Washington met a French party under young Jumonville; shots were fired, and Jumonville fell dead. Soon, however, Washington was attacked

by an overwhelming force of French, and compelled to surrender. The Ohio valley was in the hands of the French. To the philosopher Voltaire it seemed droll that the shot which set all Europe in a blaze was fired in the backwoods of North America; to us the meaning of that shot is plain.

Defeat of General Braddock. — In 1755 General Edward Braddock, who had recently landed in America with two British regiments, marched against Fort Duquesne; with him went Washington at the head of a band of Virginia rangers. On the river Monongahela, about twelve miles from the Fort, they were caught in an ambush by a body of French and Indians. The British soldiers, unaccustomed to bush-fighting, held together in close order and were shot down in heaps. The gallant Braddock dashed hither and thither, kept them together against the invisible foe, had five horses shot under him, but would not let his men imitate the Virginians, who at once took cover and out-fought the Indian at his own game. At last Braddock fell, shot through the lungs, the regulars broke and fled, and Washington drew off the few who remained into the horrors of retreat.

French Defeat at Crown Point.—Meanwhile Colonel William Johnson had advanced up the Hudson and rendezvoused at Albany. Johnson was a jovial, athletic young Irishman, who had great influence with the Iroquois, an influence which he afterwards increased by marriage with Molly Brant, sister of the great Mohawk chief after whom the town of Brantford is called. After much wrangling with the five colonial legislatures who were providing his forces, he got in motion and moved on to Lake George. Here at Crown Point he was attacked by the French under their new Commander-in-chief, the Baron Dieskau, a German soldier


85
80
75
70
65
60
45
40
River St. Lawrence
Sault Ste Marie
Michilimackinac
Id.
Lake Huron
Ottawa River
Quebec
Isle of Orleans
Isle St. Jean
Isle Royale
Louisbourg
Baie Verte
Beauséjour
Beaubassin
Grand Pré
Annapolis
Halifax
ACADIA
Montreal
I. Aux Noix
L. Champlain
Crown Point
Fort Frontenac
Ticonderoga
Lake Ontario
Oswego
Ft. Wm. Henry
George
Ft. Edward
Ft. Niagara
Detroit
Lake Erie
L. Oneida
Mohawk R.
Albany
Ft. Presquisle
Allegheny R.
Ft. Venango
Hudson R.
New York
Ohio River
Monongahela R.
Fort Duquesne
(Fort Pitt)
Fort Necessity
ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE
SEVEN YEARS WAR
IN AMERICA
Scale of Miles
0
100
200
300

of fortune. At first Dieskau's regulars had the better of Johnson's militia, but his Canadians and Indians got out of hand and threw the regulars into confusion, and the battle ended in a bloody repulse for the French. Dieskau was badly wounded and captured; only with much difficulty did Johnson persuade the Iroquois, whose chief had been killed in the encounter, to refrain from killing and eating the captive. Johnson, however, found the enemy at Crown Point too strong in numbers and position to attack, and had to fall back; but even such a gleam of success was welcome to the British Ministry, and Johnson was rewarded with £5,000 and the title of Baronet.

British Fail to Take Niagara.—Meanwhile Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, who burned to exchange the pen of the lawyer for the sword, had also rendezvoused at Albany, and had pushed on to Oswego, intending to attack Niagara, but the French had now full knowledge of the English plans, details of which had been found in the captured baggage of Braddock, and had thrown troops into Fort Frontenac. For Shirley to have attacked Niagara would have been to leave Oswego at the mercy of the French; it was a fair checkmate, and Shirley had nothing for it but to leave reinforcements in Oswego and to fall back.

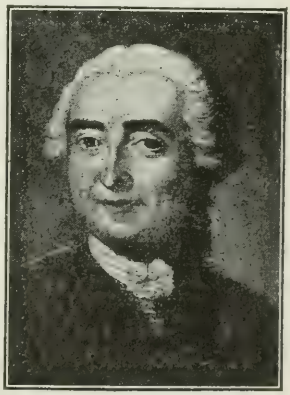
Expulsion of the Acadians.—Meanwhile Colonel Monckton, a regular officer, with a body of New Englanders, had attacked the French forts in Acadia. Of these, the most important, Beauséjour, was surrendered, almost without a blow, by the French commandant, Duchambon de Vergor, the cowardly son of the coward who in 1745 had surrendered Louisbourg to the New Englanders. The capture of the fort was followed by the saddest scene in Canadian history. The Acadian settlers, to the number of over 6,000, were seized, placed on

board ship, and sent off to the British Colonies, from Massachusetts southward. They had refused to take even a qualified oath of allegiance, and their priests had encouraged them in their resistance; at least one of these, the Abbé Le Loutre, had given bounties to the Indians for every British scalp brought in, scalps torn from the heads of the peaceful settlers of Halifax; Great Britain felt that, in the great war which was evidently approaching, it would not do to have on her flank a body of men whose leaders were thus hounding them on against her. The Acadians themselves were naturally simple and peaceful peasants, but they paid the penalty for the political and religious fanaticism of their leaders. But while their expulsion, though harsh, may have been necessary, the deception, unnecessary cruelty, and bungling stupidity with which it was carried out, form a melancholy story. Nor had any provision been made for their reception elsewhere. They were cruelly received and cruelly fleeced in the British colonies to which most of them were sent, and still worse received and still more cruelly fleeced by their brethren in the province of Quebec. Into the fertile diked lands which they had cleared along the Basin of Minas and the other head-waters of the Bay of Fundy, New England settlers soon came; and though after the war some of the Acadians crept back to the meadows which they had loved so well, it is a British, not a French tongue, which is heard to-day in the land of Evangeline.

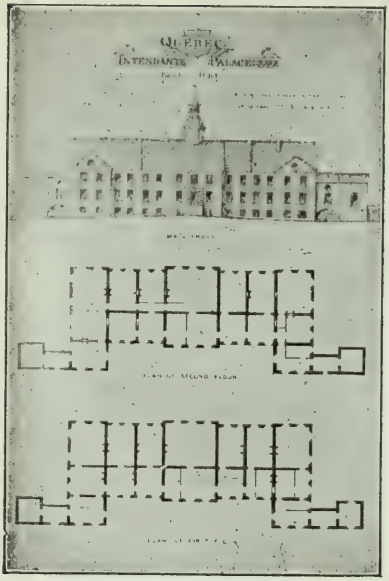
The War in Europe.—All this fighting had taken place while the governments of England and France were at peace; but early in 1756 a great change in European politics forced them into war. Maria Theresa of Austria had a long-standing quarrel with Frederick of Prussia; she had now, after many years of diplomacy, persuaded not only Russia but also her old enemy, France,

to join her in an attack upon him. Though the Prussian army was the best in Europe, it looked as if Frederick must be overcome. England, however, seeing the storm which was brewing, turned from the side of Austria to that of Frederick, promised to help him with men and money, and to keep France busy at sea. Frederick, seeing that his one chance was to hit hard before his enemies were ready, early in 1756 made a spring on Saxony, which was the ally of Austria; the Seven Years' War had begun.

Montcalm, Levis, Vaudreuil, Bigot.—Early in this year (1756) the French sent out to Canada two new battalions of about 1,200 men under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, with the Chevalier de Levis as second in command. Montcalm was an impetuous and chivalrous southerner, brave as his sword, practically untouched by the vices of the court; a competent and dashing general, though perhaps not the equal of De Levis. There were thus in Canada, exclusive of the garrison of Louisbourg, about 3,000 regulars in six battalions, about 2,500 colonial regulars, *troupes de la marine*, as they were called, and about 13,000 colonial militia, excellent bush-fighters, but ill-disciplined, and always trying to get away to their farms and their families. In this militia were enrolled all the able-bodied men of the colony between fifteen and sixty. These, though nominally under the command of Montcalm, really obeyed the Canadian-born Governor, De



THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM



PALACE OF THE INTENDANT BIGOT

Vaudreuil, a well-meaning man who loved his country, but who was vain and ignorant, quarrelled with Montcalm when everything depended upon their co-operation, lost his head at the crisis, and then tried to throw the blame on the dead general. The Intendant at this time, Bigot by name, was a scoundrel, who plundered both the King and the *habitants*. One of his tricks was to charge the King a high price for grain which he had forced the *habitants* to sell him cheap. Some of it went to the soldiers, but much of it he stored up in granaries. Later on, when the *habitants* were starving, he refused to let them have any save at famine prices, nearly all of which went into his own pocket. Vaudreuil was personally honest and took nothing for himself, but he can hardly be acquitted of winking at the wrong-doing of this cruel rascal.

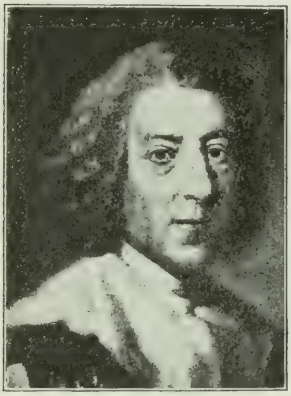
All through the winter of 1755-6 fighting among the outposts had been going on; and as soon as the ice broke the scalping parties were out. The French had built a fort at Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, of which De Levis was placed in command, and from this centre the Indians and their almost equally savage Canadian allies swarmed out. "Not a week passes" writes a young

French officer, "but we send them a band of hair-dressers, whom they would be very glad to dispense with." Nor was the scalping or the daring all on one side. Captain Robert Rogers (1727–1800), the New Englander, had already formed his famous band of Rangers, and equalled the French at their own game.

The French Capture Oswego, 1756.—By the English a fort was built at the foot of Lake George, and named Fort William Henry. To this the Scotch Earl of Loudoun, the new Commander-in-chief, amid numberless quarrels with the colonial troops, and equally numberless with the colonial Assemblies and their endless committees, pushed up his troops. Montcalm faced him at Ticonderoga. Which would make a move? Apparently at the suggestion of Vaudreuil, Montcalm suddenly roused himself; suddenly and secretly leaving Ticonderoga, he travelled day and night to Montreal, had a hurried conference with Vaudreuil, concentrated at Fort Frontenac all the troops in the colony, save those at Ticonderoga, and flung himself on Oswego. On the 10th of August he landed; in less than a week the fort was a mass of smouldering ruins, and its garrison of 1,600, prisoners in the hands of the French. Almost before Loudoun had heard of the disaster, Montcalm was back at Ticonderoga. Lake Ontario was now from end to end a French lake; its trade was wholly in the hands of the French; wider and wider spread their fame among the Indians, and from farther and farther west the red men flocked to the lily standard. Loudoun and Montcalm faced each other till the end of navigation, when they led back their forces—Montcalm to enjoy the pleasant and cultivated society of Quebec, Loudoun to quarrel with the colonists about quarters for his men till the hot-tempered Scotchman swore by God's blood that he would order into New York all the troops in North

America, and billet them himself in private houses, whereat the citizens gave in.

William Pitt.—Meanwhile England had been defeated alike in India and in the Mediterranean Sea. Her government had been in the hands of the Duke of Newcastle, who had kept himself in power by all manner of bribery and corruption. But as the bad news came pouring in, the cry of an indignant people grew so strong that even that corrupt parliament was forced to call to its head the greatest man in England, William Pitt. Once the King, who hated him for his outspoken remarks about Germans, dismissed him; but the voice of the people was too strong, and in June, 1757, the greatest ministry in English history kissed hands. At its head were Pitt and Newcastle, so that it combined the power of genius with the power of corruption.



William Pitt, Earl of Chatham

"England has been a long time in labour," said Frederick of Prussia, "but at last she has brought forth a man." Pitt (1708–1778) was not a lovable man; he had few friends, and not many acquaintances. His fierce and passionate pride often made him overbearing; to stupid Duke or stupid general he talked with haughty superiority. But he was the man for a crisis, and England rallied to his call. "No man ever went into his private room," said of him an old soldier, "but came out a better and a braver man." His whole heart was filled with the love of England and of her greatness, and with his burning words he instilled that love into

the heart of soldier and sailor till the common man became a hero and the hero became invincible. "I know that I can save this country; and I know that no one else can," he once said, and greatly did he justify the boast. Breaking through all rules of seniority, he chose out able young men, and put them at the head of fleets and of armies. When Lord Anson, the head of the Admiralty, an honest sailor and a good administrator, but not over-fond of work, said that it was impossible to fit out a certain fleet in a certain time, Pitt at once told him that the expedition would be got ready, or Anson would be impeached before the House of Commons. It took just four days to get that expedition ready. Such was the man whom now, in England's utmost need, she called on to face the continent in arms.

The French Capture Fort William Henry, 1757.—Early in 1757 Loudoun concentrated at Halifax almost all the troops in the country, and endeavoured to capture Louisbourg. His own slowness and that of the fleet sent to help him kept him inactive till August, when after all his troops had embarked, he found from letters captured on a prize that Louisbourg had a garrison of 7,000 men, and that in the harbour lay a fleet of twenty-three ships, superior to his own. The unhappy Earl sailed back to New York, to hear terrible news.

Montcalm had learned from prisoners of Loudoun's absence, and of the weakened state of the New York frontier. He at once gathered at Ticonderoga a force of about 6,000 French and 2,000 Indians, and made a dash at Fort William Henry. Here about 2,500 men were under the command of Colonel Munro, while at Fort Edward, about fourteen miles off, were as many more, under General Webb, a coward whose weakness had helped in the past year to lose Oswego. On the very day when Loudoun gave up his attempt on Louisbourg,

Montcalm opened his trenches; Webb refused to answer the appeals of the gallant Munro; by the afternoon of August 8th, 300 of the garrison had been killed or wounded and smallpox was raging in the small and unsanitary fort; on August 9th Munro asked for and obtained honourable terms of surrender; but hardly had the British evacuated the fort when they were set upon by the Indians and many of them butchered, though to save them Montcalm risked his life amid the drunken, red-skinned devils. Yet the French triumph was barren; the Indians went off to their homes; the French Canadians insisted on returning to their wives and their harvests; the General drew back his troops into winter quarters.

Thus in America the campaign closed amid defeat and shame. Elsewhere the dawn was breaking. In India, Clive, "that heaven-born general," as Pitt called him, had won the battle of Plassey; in Germany, our ally had been victorious; best of all, Pitt was now firmly established in power with an enthusiastic parliament at his back and a still more enthusiastic nation. Loudoun was recalled, and an irritating rule was done away with which had made all colonial officers inferior to the regulars; a message was sent to the governors of the various colonies, and communicated by them to their legislatures, which roused them like a trumpet call; 20,000 men were asked for, and 20,000 men the colonies gladly gave; at home naval and military preparations were feverishly pushed on.

The Campaign of 1758.—Pitt's plans for 1758 were soon formed. Not only were they more comprehensive than those of the year before, but they were to be executed with speed and thoroughness. He himself worked night and day, and he saw to it that others did the same. Three French squadrons, under orders to steal across to Louisbourg, were blockaded in harbour or defeated.

The control of the sea thus assured, Pitt set himself to the reduction of America. Social and political influences compelled him to replace Loudoun by the equally incapable Abercromby, but he strove to remedy the evil by giving him as second in command the most popular soldier in the British army, the idol alike of officers and men, the gallant young Viscount Howe. His plans were: (*a*) The main army under Abercromby was to strike up the Hudson and the lakes right at the heart of the French colony; (*b*) Colonel Jeffrey (afterwards Lord) Amherst (1717–1797) was recalled from the war in Germany, at a bound made Major-general over the heads of a host of angry seniors, and put in command of the expedition against Louisbourg; (*c*) to Brigadier John Forbes, also promoted with the same reckless foresight, was intrusted an expedition against Fort Duquesne; (*d*) at the end of the year, after the capture of Louisbourg, which with calm arrogance Pitt considered certain, Amherst was, if he saw fit, to send an expedition against the French settlements at New Orleans.

French Victory at Ticonderoga.—Early in July, Abercromby, with 6,000 regulars and 9,000 militia, moved up the Hudson to attack Montcalm, who with about 3,600 men was waiting for him at Ticonderoga. A chance shot decided the fate of the campaign. Lord Howe and Robert Rogers with a party of Rangers were in the van. Suddenly they came in contact with a small party of French, lost in the bush. Caught between two divisions of the British army, few of the French escaped; but in the skirmish Lord Howe had fallen, and the loss of the British could hardly be measured in regiments.

Abercromby might have brought up his artillery, and battered the French fort to pieces; or he could have kept Montcalm at bay with a part of his overwhelming

numbers, marched the rest round to one of various points higher up on Lake Champlain, and sat there till he had starved out the whole French army, which had provisions for but eight days. But his one idea was that last refuge of the incompetent soldier, a bayonet charge. On the morning of July 8th, he sent his troops —he did not lead them—to the attack. The French fought gallantly behind a wooden stockade, on the summit of a slope which they had strewed with boughs of trees and sharpened stakes fixed in the ground. Montcalm and De Levis were everywhere. English, Scotch, and Americans strove in vain to get at the enemy. Where all were brave, the newly-formed Highland regiments were bravest. They tore down the boughs with their naked hands, pushed their way to the foot of the breast-work, climbed it in little disordered clusters, only to be shot down or bayoneted. Between noon and seven there were no fewer than six general charges. Then as twilight came on, Abercromby, who had passed his time a mile and a quarter to the rear, saw that even with such troops he could not prevail, and gave the order for retreat. Nearly 2,000 officers and men had fallen; the Black Watch went into the battle 1,000 strong, and came out 499. No wonder that Montcalm cried in triumph: "What soldiers are mine! I never saw the like."

Abercromby still had 13,000 men and his cannon, but neither he, nor his army under such a chief, were in any mood to try again. He retreated to Lake George, and there entrenched himself against attack—attack by a foe of one third his numbers.

Capture of Fort Frontenac.—Out of the darkness, hope and rejoicing suddenly flared. Under pressure of a council of war, Abercromby sent off on an independent expedition Colonel John Bradstreet (1711–1774), a skilled leader of irregulars who had served under Pepperell

in 1745, and who in this war had knocked into shape 2,000 New England sailors and whaleboat men. With these, and a thousand more of the New England militia, Bradstreet made his way up the Mohawk and down the Onondaga to the desolate site of Oswego, and thence dashed across at Fort Frontenac, which had been left in charge of an aged veteran, De Noyan, with 110 soldiers and labourers. These could make no resistance, and on August 27th, the fort surrendered. In it were found vast stores of munitions of war, and of provisions and supplies for Fort Duquesne and the other western posts. The fort was battered down with its own cannon; Bradstreet burned such of the stores as he could not carry away, burned or carried off the nine armed vessels captured in the harbour, and retired triumphant to Albany. This blow should have been followed up by another expedition to rebuild Oswego, to which the captured boats and the stores which were burned could have been carried. But even as it was the French control of Lake Ontario was gone, and the stores of the western forts had gone up in smoke.

Capture of Louisbourg.—Montcalm had foiled the attack on the heart of the colony; but it had fared badly with the extremities. Early in January a British squadron had been sent to prevent all supplies from reaching Louisbourg. Later on, Admiral Sir Edward Boscawen (1711-1761), known by his adoring sailors as "Old Dreadnought," sailed with a powerful fleet, and rendezvoused at Halifax, where by the end of May were gathered twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates and fireships under Boscawen, and 11,600 soldiers under Amherst, all regulars, save 500 Rangers.

Since its return to the French in 1748, vast sums had been spent on the fortification of Louisbourg. In spite of the blockading squadron, several ships had

found their way over in twos and threes, and when, early in June, Boscawen sailed into Gabarus Bay, there were in the harbour six ships of the line and seven frigates, with crews amounting to over 3,000 men. The garrison, under the Chevalier de Drucour, consisted of rather more than 3,000 French and colonial regulars,



PLAN OF LOUISBOURG

and a body of the town militia. On the walls and outworks were mounted over two hundred cannon.

After several attempts had been foiled by the weather, Amherst made his landing on June 8th, in which Brigadier Wolfe greatly distinguished himself. Drucour was an officer and a gentleman, and he fought with a sprightly gallantry which won the applause of the besiegers. Conspicuous by his side was his noble wife, who pointed guns with her own hand, or leaned contemptuously over the wall to brush away with her handkerchief the dust where an English cannon had made its mark. Amherst was no heaven-born general, but he was a competent and hard-working soldier; the

trenches were pushed on; one by one the batteries were silenced; three of the ships in the harbour escaped; the others were sunk, set on fire, or captured; at last on July 26th, Drucour surrendered, and, with over 5,000 officers and men, was sent as a prisoner to England. As Governor he gave up to the English the whole of Cape Breton and Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island). His gallant defence had at least made impossible any co-operation of Amherst with Abercromby in an attack on Canada, for though Wolfe and Amherst were eager for an attack on Quebec, Boscawen considered one impracticable so late in the season and carried his point. Amherst sailed off to Boston and made his way to Lake George with reinforcements, but both he and Abercromby thought the season too far advanced for another attack. As they deliberated, news came that Montcalm was breaking up his camp; his example was imitated, and only a few straggling war parties were left to carry on the fighting around Lake Champlain.

Capture of Fort Duquesne.—Meanwhile Brigadier John Forbes (1710–1759) had set out from Philadelphia upon his march to Fort Duquesne. The colonial militia of Virginia were a much poorer lot than those of New England, who were fighting under Bradstreet, and Forbes had infinite trouble with them. In an official letter to Pitt he writes: "A few of their principal officers excepted, all the rest are an extreme bad collection of broken Inn-keepers, Horse Jockeys, and Indian Traders, and the Men under them are a direct copy of their officers; nor can it well be otherwise, as they are a gathering from the scum of the Worst of people in every Country."

The fate of Fort Duquesne had been sealed by the loss of Fort Frontenac. There were no provisions for the garrison, no presents for the Indians; the Indian bands deserted, the militia of Louisiana and of the

Illinois country went home. But for a time it looked as if the weather would save France. In October the British advance guard was still fifty miles from the fort; the autumn rains began and the new-made road was soon a swamp in which the wagons sank up to their axles. Forbes was dying of an inflammation of the stomach, and had to be carried in a litter, but with Scotch obstinacy he kept on. On the evening of November 25th his vanguard reached the fort, to find that the French had evacuated it on the previous day, after blowing up the fortifications. The party which took possession of the ruins was led by George Washington; the defeat of Braddock was avenged. Forbes had won no brilliant victory, but the fruits of his exploit were greater than those of the fall of Louisbourg. "It opened the great west to English enterprise, took from France half her savage allies, and relieved the western borders from the scourge of Indian war." (Parkman)

The strong spirit had kept up the weak body till he reached Duquesne; there he collapsed, though not till by his orders the prize had been named Fort Pitt, in honour of his equally heroic master. As soon as he could be moved, Forbes was carried back by slow and painful stages to Philadelphia, where he died in the following March. His work was done, but one wishes that the splendid message of congratulation from Pitt had not arrived too late; for if duty well done, without vain whimpering or repining, if pain and languor and a thousand obstacles overcome make a man a hero, then there is no truer hero in Britain's story than plain John Forbes, who out of weakness was made strong, who won for Britain the Empire of the West.

The Campaign of 1759.—After his mad waste of so much good blood at Ticonderoga, Abercromby was recalled, and replaced by Amherst. In the next year

(1759) three lines of attack were planned. (1) Amherst was ordered to take on himself the attack by the old route of Lakes George and Champlain. (2) Brigadier Prideaux was sent to rebuild Oswego, and then to strike across the lake at Niagara, the great fort which controlled all the commerce of the upper lakes. (3) An expedition under Brigadier James Wolfe, carried by a fleet under Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, was to rendezvous at Louisbourg, and then go on to the attack of Quebec.

Capture of Ticonderoga.—(1) Amherst gathered his army of 11,000 men at the head of Lake George, moved on to Ticonderoga, and brought up his artillery. Bourlamaque, the skilful officer whom Montcalm had sent to the defence of the fort, seeing that he could not stand a siege, retreated toward Montreal, and on the evening of July 26th, Ticonderoga was at last in English hands. Bourlamaque then entrenched himself at Isle-aux-Noix at the end of the lake, where with great skill he held off his antagonist till the end of the summer, and so prevented an English combination before Quebec.

Capture of Niagara.—(2) Meanwhile Prideaux, leaving a force to rebuild Oswego, had attacked Niagara. Here Sir William Johnson came to his aid with a large band of Iroquois; Prideaux was killed by the bursting of one of his own shells, but Johnson carried on the siege with vigour, and defeated a large force of western Indians and French *coureurs-de-bois* which endeavoured to raise the siege. On July 25th the garrison surrendered. They were in deadly fear lest the Iroquois treat them as their own savage allies had treated the British at Fort William Henry, but Johnson kept the Indians in control, and sent the prisoners under escort to New York. Unfortunately, Amherst sent the sluggish Gage to supersede Johnson, and another opportunity of going to the help of Wolfe was lost.

Capture of Quebec.—(3) James Wolfe (1727–1759) was at this time in his thirty-third year. In 1757 he had distinguished himself in an attack on the coast of France when almost every one else behaved badly, and the keen eye of Pitt had picked him out for promotion. At Louisbourg the bulk of the fighting had fallen on him, and now Pitt had given him the hardest work of the campaign. In the thin, sickly body, lank red hair, and retreating chin there was little outward evidence of the spirit within—a spirit ardent and indomitable, a spirit which won the love of his men and yet enforced the most rigid discipline. His nature was a curious but lovable blend of tenderness and fire; the latter, under the influence of nervousness, sometimes played him false, as when at his final interview with Pitt he drew his sword and with many big words went stamping about the room. The old Duke of Newcastle, who could never understand Pitt's way of giving promotion without regard either to seniority or influence, told King George II that Pitt's new general was mad. "Mad, is he?" snapped back the shrewd old monarch, "then I wish he would bite some of my other generals."



General Wolfe

With him was associated Admiral Saunders, and the two co-operated as splendidly as Amherst and Boscawen had done in the year before. Soldiers and sailors are often jealous of each other, but there was no room for jealousy in Pitt's men; they served the Empire with the same devotion as did their great master.

The French Plan of Defence.—On June 26th, the English fleet cast anchor off the Island of Orleans. The task of the young general was a hard one. Though he had with him the very flower of the British army, they were not more than 9,000 men, in addition to the sailors. Against him were Montcalm, De Levis, and about 14,000 men in arms. Montcalm had curbed his natural impetuosity, and had drawn up his troops behind lines of defence, built all along the Beauport shore from the St. Charles to the Montmorenci. The French ministry at home, which was faring but badly in the war with Frederick, refused him reinforcements; but he had patched up his quarrel with Vaudreuil, and had called out the local militia. The help of the clergy, to whom the people were with good reason devoted, was called in, a Holy War preached through every parish, and over 10,000 militia had turned out to fight for a land not greatly changed now from what it was then, a smiling land of sunny fruit and waving grain, a good land, worth fighting for.

Behind his ramparts Montcalm sat secure, and nothing could lure him out. Wolfe established camps on the Island of Orleans, on Point Levis, on the opposite bank of the Montmorenci. Holding with his fleet the whole basin of Quebec, he ferried his men comfortably to and fro on shipboard, while the soldiers of France sweated hither and thither on foot, under the summer sun. His batteries on Point Levis laid the city in ruins; far and wide his troops wasted the land; but he could not force Montcalm to come out against him, and an attempt to ford the Montmorenci under cover of an attack on the Beauport shore, was beaten back with heavy loss. Almost in despair he held a council with his brigadiers, Monckton, Townshend, and Murray. Townshend suggested that an attempt at landing above the city



CONTEMPORARY PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

might be made; Wolfe accepted the suggestion, worked out a plan, and on the night of September 12th made the attempt.

Meanwhile news of the fall of Ticonderoga and Niagara had compelled Montcalm to send off reinforcements to Bourlamaque, and to station De Levis with a detachment of troops at Montreal; bad food and the desire to return to their ripening crops had caused many of the militia to desert. Montcalm had with him below the city about 6,000 men; eight miles above, at Cap Rouge, was his aide-de-camp, Bougainville, with 3,000; in between were various small detachments.

Wolfe made his attempt at the Anse du Foulon, known ever since as Wolfe's Cove, where a steep path leads up the precipice. At its top was a post, commanded by Duchambon de Vergor, of whom we last heard at Beauséjour. Montcalm, seeing the importance of this post, had wished it to be reinforced by the regiment de Guienne, 800 sturdy veterans, but Vaudreuil had countermanded the order, with the words, "We shall see to that to-morrow." The morrow gave him other things to think of. Up the hill in the darkness went the troops, the Highlanders in the van. Even of his few, Vergor had let the majority go home to reap their fields; the remainder were surprised, and Vergor sprang out of bed only to be captured in his shirt. All through the night the troops scrambled up the path, and were drawn up by their officers on the level ground west of the city, known from an early settler in the time of Champlain, Abraham Martin by name, as the Plains of Abraham. By morning Wolfe had nearly 4,000 men in the firing line.

The Battle of the Plains of Abraham.—Montcalm too had not been idle. By nine o'clock he had brought his men across the St. Charles, and got them into line;

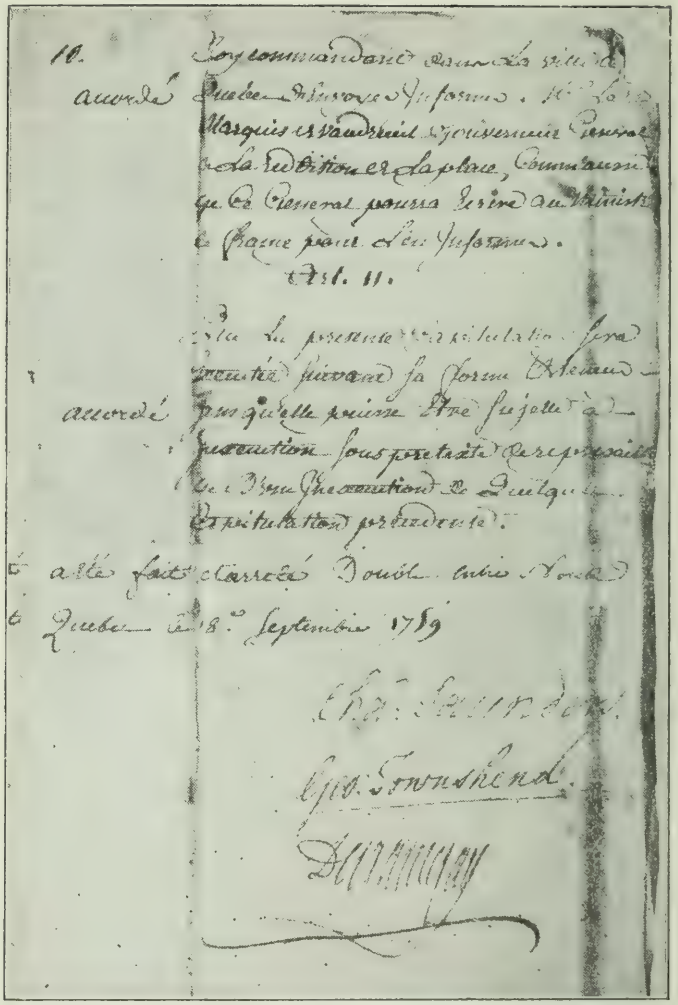


DEATH OF WOLFE—BENJAMIN WEST

then, instead of waiting for Bougainville, he pushed on to the attack. His troops advanced with heavy firing, and inflicted considerable loss; the British stood grim and silent till the enemy were within forty yards, and then poured in a succession of volleys which swept the French away. Montcalm, trying to rally the fugitives, was shot in the stomach, and carried into the city. Wolfe had already fallen, shot through the breast, though he lingered till to his dying ear was brought the news of victory. Monckton had also been wounded, and the command devolved on Townshend, who carried on the pursuit with vigour and success. The command of Quebec and of the French troops devolved upon Vaudreuil, who for all his boasting lost his nerve and fled toward Montreal, leaving in the city a weak garrison, under an incompetent and nervous veteran, De Ramezay. Montcalm was still alive, but would give no orders; his thoughts were of his soul's welfare, and even in the confusion a brave priest was found to give him the last rites of his Church; at times his thoughts wandered back to his wife and children, far away in the pleasant château land of Gascony. In the night he died, and was buried in a hole dug by a bursting English shell in the chapel of the Ursuline Convent.

Fall of Quebec.—Quebec had not yet fallen. When De Levis heard of the disaster, he came tearing down from Montreal, gathering and heartening the fugitives as he came. Had De Ramezay not been half senile, the city could easily have held out till his appearance; but Townshend pressed the siege, and on September 18th the city surrendered, with De Levis and rescue only thirty miles off.

Second Battle of the Plains.—During the winter the British garrison, under the command of Murray, suffered terribly from cold and from scurvy. They had been

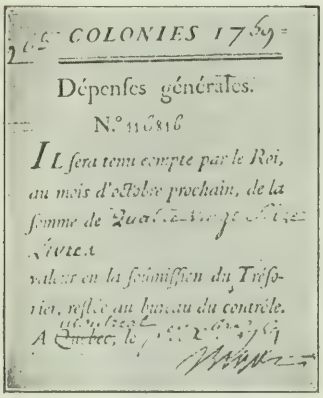


AGREEMENT FOR THE SURRENDER OF QUEBEC; WRITTEN IN FRENCH, SIGNED BY ADMIRAL SAUNDERS, GENERAL TOWNSHEND, CHEVALIER DE RAMEZAY

inadequately supplied with winter clothing, though the kindly nuns, partly from charity and partly from modesty, supplied the Highlanders with long stockings. When the spring came, and De Levis, who had wintered at Montreal, came down to strike a last blow for France, Murray could put barely 3,000 men in the field against his enemy's 10,000. Yet he marched out, and on April 28th was fought the second battle of the Plains, often called the Battle of Sainte Foye, in which, after splendid bravery on both sides, Murray was compelled to retreat into the city with the loss of 1,100 men. His condition was worse than that of De Ramezay in the previous autumn, but the spirit of commander and of troops was unbroken, and they held De Levis at bay.

Capture of Montreal.—On May 9th, groups of English on the ramparts, and of French along the river's bank, watched a frigate come slowly up the river. On her nationality depended the fate of Canada. Should she be French, no earthly power could save Murray from surrender. At last a little ball ran up to her masthead, hung for a moment, and then broke out into the glorious white ensign, with the Union Jack of England and Scotland in the corner. She was the frigate *Lowestoffe*, with the news that a British fleet was at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. A few days later De Levis broke up his camp, and retreated to Montreal. During the summer Amherst closed in on him. Murray advanced from Quebec, and early in September the two commanders met before Montreal. On the night of September 7th, De Levis and his French regulars burned their flags on the island of St. Helen's, to save the colours from the enemy. They had done all that men might do; the fall of Canada was due not to them, but to the incompetent and foolish government at home. On the next day, Vaudreuil and De Levis surrendered to Amherst.

Peace of Paris.—Though the French did not formally give up Canada for over two years, there was no more fighting. Murray at Quebec governed the country, under the command of Amherst at headquarters in New York. Fighting went on in India, in Europe, in the West Indies. At last it was over, and by the Peace of Paris, on February 10th, 1763, France cleared bag and baggage out of North America, keeping of her former Empire only the two little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, as a shelter for her boats, which came to fish for cod on the Banks of Newfoundland. By this Peace, Great Britain took over the whole of North America east of the Mississippi, except the city of New Orleans, which was ceded by France to Spain. From the Gulf of Mexico to the shores of Rupert's Land the Union Jack was supreme.


COLONIES 17[illegible]

Dépenses générales.

N.° 11,681[illegible]

IL sera tenu compte par le Roi, au mois d'octobre prochain, de la somme de [illegible] valeur en la soumission du Trésorier, restée au bureau du contrôle. A Québec, le [illegible]

ORDONNANCE, THAT IS, BANK NOTE ISSUED AFTER THE FALL OF QUEBEC: SIGNED BY BIGOT.

Pontiac's War.—But England was not yet to have peace. The Indians of the west had seen with alarm Robert Rogers take possession of the western posts (1760–1). The French had come among them to trade and to depart; but the advance of the English was like the slow rising of a tide without an ebb. Hardly had the news of the Peace of Paris been published when almost all the Algonquin tribes east of the Mississippi joined for one last struggle against the white invader. With them were joined the Wyandots and the Senecas; the influence of Sir William Johnson kept quiet the rest of the Six

Nations. The leader of the confederacy was Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, renowned for his eloquence, courage, and statesmanship. In May, 1763, they rose suddenly and secretly all along the frontier. Detroit, under Major Gladwyn, held out; but Sandusky, St. Joseph, Michilimackinac, Miami, Presqu'île, and other posts were captured, and as far south as Virginia burning houses, and women weeping over the mangled bodies of their brothers and husbands, told the ghastly tale of Indian warfare. British officers were tortured with such fiendish cruelty that Amherst lost all control of himself, and advised his subordinate, Colonel Bouquet, to send among the Indians blankets inoculated with smallpox, a request which Bouquet endeavoured to carry out.

Gradually the red man was beaten back. Bouquet, after two days' hard fighting, won the battle of Bushy Run and relieved Fort Pitt. After nearly a year Pontiac was forced to raise the siege of Detroit and to make peace. A few years later the great chief was killed in a private quarrel with another Indian.

CHAPTER XI

FIRST YEARS OF BRITISH RULE

Canada in 1763.—Great Britain had thus taken over a people who differed from herself and from her other colonists in North America in race, religion, language, and customs. England and France had been at war for generations; Englishmen and Frenchmen considered hatred of each other to be a patriotic duty; nowhere had the fires of hatred blazed so high as between the Canadians and the English colonists, *les Bastonnais*, the Bostonians, as they called them. The religious history of the two countries ever since the Reformation had given Roman Catholic and Protestant a bitter loathing of each other. In England, in 1763, no Roman Catholic could be a schoolmaster, or hold any public office, or be an officer in the army or navy; King George III had just come to the throne, so strong a Protestant that in after years he refused to allow Roman Catholics to hold any office in Ireland, though they formed four fifths of the population. Such a country and such a king found, in Canada, Roman Catholicism absolute and unquestioned. Since the days of Champlain, Protestants had hardly been seen in the country. Louis XIV had driven them out of France and forbidden them to enter the colonies.

Great Britain did not enter upon her task with much enthusiasm. She had felt no special need for Canada. Rupert's Land was supplying her with furs, and the American colonies with the products of farm, forest, and sea. Canada had been conquered in much the same spirit as a farmer smokes out a nest of wasps,

in order to allow the people of New England and New York to sleep sound in their beds, secure from the war-whoop and the scalping-knife. However, now that she had taken it, Great Britain set to work in right English fashion to do the best she could for her new possession.

For a short time after the cession Canada was left under military rule, but on October 7th, 1763, by a Royal Proclamation, the King divided his new possessions in North America into four provinces, of which Canada was one. General James Murray, who had been in charge since 1760, was appointed the first Governor.

The population at this time may be divided into four parts:

(1) The governor and his staff, who were sent out from England. (2) The seigniors and the clergy. By the terms of the treaty the seigniors were given eighteen months in which, if they wished, they might sell their estates and remove to France; of this proviso some few of them took advantage. The clergy with one or two exceptions remained with their flocks. (3) The *habitants* themselves, about 65,000 in number, who had retired to their farms, there to await what might befall. (4) An increasing number of so-called Englishmen in Montreal and Quebec. These were for the most part Scotch-Americans from New England, in close connection with certain large business houses in London.

The New English Settlers Quarrel with the Governor.—Quarrels soon broke out between the English settlers and Governor Murray, who called them on one occasion "the licentious fanatics trading here," on another "four hundred and fifty contemptible sutlers and traders," and on another "the most immoral collection of men I ever knew." His anger was probably due to the dislike of the soldier for the business man. By "licentious" the Governor only meant disobedient to

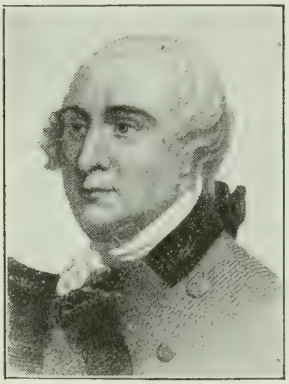
his authority, and by "fanatics" that they were not members of the Church of England, but New England Independents. As for immorality, they were certainly much more sober than the average British officer of the day, and they made trade and commerce thrive as never before. Whatever the cause, there was from the beginning a quarrel between the business men of Quebec and Montreal and the Governor, and also between the same business men and the French. The Governor soon came to prefer the latter, who were accustomed to discipline and to obedience to authority. Writing to the British Government, he calls the French Canadians "perhaps the bravest and the best race upon the globe, a race who, could they be indulged with a few privileges which the laws of England deny to Roman Catholics at home, would soon become the most faithful and most useful set of men in this American Empire."

The New Englanders had come from a country where everything was controlled by the Town Meeting, or by the Assembly to which the Town Meeting sent representatives. From the first they strongly objected to the arbitrary power of the Governor, and the quarrel grew steadily more bitter, till in 1766 they successfully petitioned for his recall on a number of grounds, of which the two chief were that he unduly favoured the French, and that he "discountenanced the Protestant religion by almost a total neglect of attendance upon the service of the Church." They also sent in constant petitions for representative government, by which they meant a government in which Protestants alone would be represented; that is, that a Parliament elected by about 400 English Protestant voters should control the destinies of over 60,000 French Roman Catholics.

Grievances of the Habitants.—But if the English settlers were growing restless, so also were the *habitants*. No one knew what laws were in force, and their everyday affairs got into sad confusion. Under the French they had had a legal code known as the "Custom of Paris," which had been brought out from Old France, and which had been made to suit their needs by the kindly Intendant. Were they still under this, or had it been superseded by the laws of England? Men who had failed to make a living in England or in the American Colonies, disbanded French soldiers and other clever but dishonest fellows, obtained or claimed powers as Justices of the Peace, preyed upon the ignorance of the *habitants*, and in many cases ruined them. "Three or four hundred families," said Murray's successor, Sir Guy Carleton, "have been turned out of their houses, land sold for not one eighth of its value, debtors ruined and debts still undischarged, fees absorbing everything."

Masères.—On Murray's recall in 1766, the British Government, to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs, sent out two very able and high-minded men. The first of these was Francis Masères (1731–1824), the Attorney-general, a trim little lawyer, who to the end of his life wore a three-cornered hat, wig, and ruffles, the costume of the reign of King George II. Though of Huguenot descent, Masères would have allowed the practice by the French of the Roman Catholic religion. He would have settled the legal difficulty by a mixed system of laws, in which the *habitants* retained as much of their own civil law as concerned their daily life, so that such matters as the tenure and transfer of land, the making of wills, the performance of marriage, and the giving of dowers, would be settled in their old accustomed way, while in other matters English law

would prevail. He would have placated the English subjects by holding out hope of an Assembly in a few years, and by the immediate introduction of English criminal law, and of such parts of the civil law as concerned trade and commerce.



SIR GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER

Carleton.—At the same time there came out as Murray's successor, Sir Guy Carleton (1724–1808), who had been a close friend of Wolfe, and had served under him at the siege of Quebec as Quartermaster-general. During some of his earlier fighting in Germany, he had spoken slightingly of Hanoverian troops, which so offended King George II that when Wolfe sent up the list of his staff, peppery little George struck out Carleton's name with his own hand; but Wolfe insisted, and at last won his point, the King, who after all was a just man, coming to see that a general sent out on so difficult a task must be allowed to choose his own subordinates. Before Quebec Carleton did good service, not only as Quartermaster-general, but by his advice to the engineers. In after years, as we shall see, in her time of doubt and peril, it was his keen soldierly eye and cool soldierly heart which saved Canada for the Empire.

He was also a man of unstained and scrupulous honour. Colonial Governors of the time were entitled, in addition to their salary, to certain fees and perquisites. There was nothing unlawful about accepting these, and Murray had taken them. Carleton was a poor man, yet before he was two months in Canada he

gave them up, saying, "There is a certain appearance of dirt, a sort of meanness in exacting fees on every occasion. I think it necessary for the King's service that his representative at least should be thought unsullied."

His Political Views.—But while we must praise his soldierly skill and his untainted honour, the wisdom of his political views is more doubtful. There was at this time in England a growing dislike for the American Colonies which had begun the resistance to British authority, which ended in the American Revolution. The American Colonies believed in government of the people, by the people; nearly all English thinkers of the time thought that the people would be better governed by a small highly-trained upper class. With this view Carleton fully agreed; he had also all the soldier's love of discipline, order, and prompt obedience, so that both he and those at home were resolved to keep down the new settlers in Canada, who seemed to them to represent the democratic American ways. He had no hope whatever that the English would ever be in the majority in Canada: "Barring a catastrophe shocking to think of, this country must to the end of time be peopled by the Canadian race, who already have taken such firm root and got to so great a height, that any new stock transplanted would be totally hid and imperceptible among them, except in the towns of Quebec and Montreal." If then, he argued, the French are always to be in a majority, if they are the obedient part of the population, and as such to be encouraged, it is obvious that we must redress their grievances, give them their ancient laws and customs, and keep them as much as possible like themselves, and as much as possible unlike the American Colonies to the south.

The Quebec Act.—Thus from the first Carleton favoured the French Canadians; by an ordinance (1770)

he gave them back much of their own civil law, took away much of the power from the Justices of the Peace, and established regular courts at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. In 1770 he returned to England to press his views on the British Government, and at last in June, 1774, the Imperial Parliament passed the



Quebec Act, to which French Canadians have ever since looked back almost as Englishmen do to Magna Charta.

By this Act (*a*) the boundaries of Canada were extended to take in Labrador on the east, and to the south and west all the country between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, out of which have since been formed the great states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, and

Indiana. (*b*) The French were given the fullest permission to practise their own religion; in order not to offend their consciences they were allowed to take an oath of allegiance which did not include words offensive to their faith, as the English oath of the time did; the clergy were allowed to enforce legal payment of their accustomed dues, especially the *dîme* or tithe. (*c*) The old French civil law was to be used in its entirety, save that the King might, if he so wished, grant lands in freehold, to be subject to the land laws of England. (*d*) English criminal law was introduced, for though so much more severe than our present code that to us it seems written in blood, it was milder than that of France, which allowed arbitrary imprisonment and the use of the rack and torture. (*e*) No Assembly was granted; the country was to be under a Governor with a Council of not fewer than seventeen or more than twenty-three persons chosen by the King, which really meant chosen by the Governor.

Anger of the American Colonies.—This Act was opposed by Pitt, who had now been promoted to the House of Lords as Earl of Chatham, because it gave offence to the American Colonies, which were by this time on the verge of rebellion. They objected to the privileges given to the Roman Catholic religion; they objected to having at their doors a colony governed without an Assembly; most of all they objected to this great extension of the boundaries. Just at this time the Americans were beginning to cross the mountains into the valley of the Mississippi. The air was full of talk of land companies, real estate offices were springing up on all sides, and here was the British Government putting the land in which they had been speculating under the control of the hated French. The British Government claimed that the extension of the

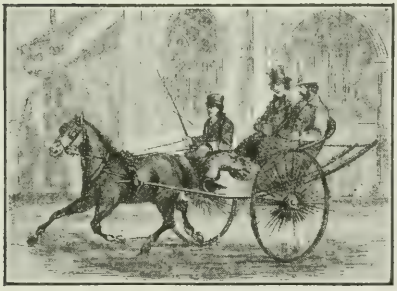
boundaries was necessary to protect the Indians, whom American fur-traders and land agents were demoralizing with bad rum and worse whisky. To the Americans it seemed not protection to the Indians but punishment to themselves. In October, 1774, their Continental Congress, which was sitting at Philadelphia, issued "An Address to the People of Great Britain," in which, in the course of a long protest against the Act, they say: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world." But these religious objections were merely a fine cloak for the greed of the land-grabbers, for only five days later they issued "A letter to the Province of Quebec," in which they pay the highest compliments to the "gallant and glorious resistance" which the inhabitants had made to Great Britain, speak of their "courage and generosity," and say: "What is offered you by the late Act of Parliament? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you." The "Address" and the "Letter" seem somewhat contradictory.

Was the Quebec Act Wise?—Was the Quebec Act a wise one? If the American Colonies could have been saved, it was unwise in the extreme thus to add fuel to their anger, but if we think that American independence was by this time inevitable, the Quebec Act at least gave to Great Britain the loyalty of Canada during the war which was to come; if the ship was doomed, the Act at least saved one of the pieces. Its clauses in favour of Roman Catholicism gave her, and have given her ever since, the loyalty of the clergy; its legal provisions gave her that of the lawyers; and though the *habitant* grumbled

at having to pay tithes, which had not been collected during the past eleven years, he was so completely under the control of the clergy and the lawyers that his grumbling went for little.



CARRIOLE



CALÈCHE

EARLY CANADIAN VEHICLES

CHAPTER XII

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

During the Seven Years' War the colonists had fought manfully on the side of Great Britain; Massachusetts had put in the field one out of every four of her able-bodied men. When at the end of the War the mother country freed them from their fear of Canada, every pulpit in New England rang with praises of her generosity. "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad," was the text of a hundred sermons. Seven years later (1770) British soldiers were stoned by a mob in the streets of Boston; twelve years later (1775) the colonists broke into armed revolt, with Massachusetts men among their most prominent leaders. What were the causes of this sudden and terrible revulsion of feeling, the results of which left a lasting imprint upon Canada? No one can understand the history of British North America since 1763, without knowing something of the events which brought about the American Revolution, of the attitude of Canadians during that struggle, of the great migration of Loyalists to Canada and Nova Scotia after the war, and of the part played by these in the development of our constitution and the formation of our public sentiment.

Causes of the Revolution. I. The Character of the Colonists.—Nearly all the British colonies on the Atlantic sea-board of North America had been established by men who had left their mother country under a sense of wrong. New England had been colonized by Puritans seeking refuge from the religious and political despotism

of the Stuarts; Pennsylvania, by the more deeply wronged Quakers; Maryland, by persecuted Roman Catholics. Into the Carolinas and the back lands of all the colonies south of New England had gone sturdy North of Ireland men, driven from their homes by the restrictions laid by Great Britain on their manufactures, Scotch Jacobites owning allegiance not to King George, but to "Charlie over the water," French Huguenots and German Protestants fleeing from Roman Catholic kings and bishops. Hardly a colony but had been peopled by men suffering from a sense of wrong, and impatient of restraint.

II. Their Freedom from Control.—As compared with France, Great Britain had let her colonies alone. Their population had steadily grown, and with it their independence. Neither Bishop nor Intendant controlled them, and the Governor had little of the power of his French namesake. Each colony had managed its own affairs in its own parliament, elected by its own people. These parliaments had produced a set of politicians, many of whom were of great ability and energy.

III. The Mercantile System.—Yet while compared with Canada they had been free, their laws had frequently been repealed by the British Government, especially those dealing with trade and commerce. In theory the colonial system of Great Britain had been the same as that of France—the so-called Mercantile System by which the Parliament of Great Britain endeavoured to knit together the mother country and her colonies into a great self-contained Empire, in which each part produced that which it was best fitted to produce. By a series of laws, known as the Navigation Acts, or Acts of Trade, manufacturing had been restricted to the mother country, where capital was plentiful and labour cheap, and forbidden to Americans; in the colonies, where labour was dear, but land cheap and fertile, the

growth of such raw materials as sugar, rice, tobacco and timber had been encouraged by bounties, and by a preference in the English market. The colonies were also forbidden to use any other than Imperial ships, to buy any other manufactures than those of Great Britain, or to ship certain "enumerated commodities" to other than British ports.

This system had not greatly hampered the colonies. One or two small manufacturers were crushed out, but this was more than repaid (*a*) by the growth of ship-building in New England; (*b*) by the bounties and preferences given in the British market; (*c*) by the protection given by the British Navy, not only against other countries, but against pirates, who, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were a very real menace; (*d*) by the smuggling which went on, especially with the French and Spanish West Indies and South America. To these they sent cattle and horses, wheat and corn, timber and fish; from them they got in return sugar, molasses, rum, and a steady stream of gold and silver coin.

Yet, while this system had not really hampered them, it had undoubtedly angered them. Its advantages they took as a matter of course. Its drawbacks they tended to regard as so many injustices done them by a British Parliament in which they were not represented.

IV. Tactlessness of the British Government.—Thus by 1763 a national spirit was growing up, and the removal of the French thunder-cloud gave it full scope. Pitt had been driven from office (1761) by the narrow-minded King George III, and power had passed into the hands of the King and his ministers, of whom the chief in 1763 was Pitt's brother-in-law, Mr. George Grenville, an obstinate and pedantic lawyer. Just when the Americans were crowing over their exploits, and mourning over

their dead and their debts, the tactless Grenville decided to make use of the British navy to put down smuggling with a strong hand. Great was the discontent.

The Stamp Act.—In 1765, at the height of the discontent, Grenville introduced a Stamp Act, by which all contracts had to be made on stamped paper bought from a government official. The proceeds of this and of other laws which were announced were to go to support a standing army in America, the need of which had been made manifest by Pontiac's rising. To this the Americans refused to submit; the officers who tried to sell the stamps were mobbed, and their houses broken into. The colonists admitted the justice of making them pay part of the cost of the war, and all the cost of defence against the Indians; but they took their stand on the doctrine that there should be "no taxation without representation;" that they would tax themselves, if necessary, but would allow no British Parliament to tax them. In the next year (1766), urged on by Pitt, the British Government repealed the Act. The repeal was wise, but from it the Americans learned the evil lesson that the British Government would yield to lawlessness.

Other foolish laws were soon passed through the influence of the King, and again the Americans broke out into violence and mob rule. As rebellion spread in America so did resentment in Great Britain. Who were these backwoodsmen to resist her imperial might! In vain Pitt pleaded for moderation, urged that the obnoxious Acts should be repealed, and that then the new political situation should be faced and America and Great Britain united in an Imperial Federation. The angry King and his angry people decided that the disobedient must be punished, not won by generous love.

The Declaration of Independence.—At last in 1775 the New Englanders attacked and repulsed a small

British force at Lexington, and later in the same year at Bunker's Hill, outside Boston, they fought so well that, though defeated, they gained in confidence. In the next year the thirteen colonies definitely declared their independence (July 4th, 1776).

American Invasion of Canada.—In the struggle for independence the Americans were for the most part on the defensive, but they felt strong enough to invade Canada, and this in the summer of 1775 they proceeded to do. The Vermont militia, under Ethan Allen, surprised and captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point. One army under Richard Montgomery, an Irishman who in old days had scaled the cliff with Wolfe, marched against Montreal by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu; another under Benedict Arnold forced its way up the Kennebec through the woods and down the Chaudière to Quebec. For a time Montgomery was delayed by the spirited resistance of Major Preston at St. Johns on the Richelieu; an attack on Montreal by Ethan Allen was repulsed, and its leader captured. But the capture by the Americans of Fort Chambly rendered St. Johns indefensible. Carleton was surrounded at Montreal and only escaped by lying flat in the bottom of a boat which some brave French Canadians, of whom the chief was Captain Bouchette, silently in the darkness paddled with their hands through the American lines. Montreal fell into the hands of the invaders, who were joined by a number of the chief merchants of the town.

The Habitants Refuse to Fight.—Meanwhile the French were disappointing both sides. Carleton had confidently hoped that their hatred for the Bastonnais would induce them to enlist under the banner of Great Britain, and had promised reinforcements to the British general at Boston. The Americans had hoped that the fourteenth colony would join the rebel thirteen,

and had made arrangements for enrolling two Canadian regiments. But the *habitant* had had enough of fighting, and refused to take part in a quarrel the meaning of which he did not understand. The seigniors and the clergy were loyal, but the *habitants* refused to move, and in some cases mobbed the seigniors, who endeavoured to insist upon their turning out. Only about 400 French fought under Carleton, and a rather smaller number joined the Americans.

Defeat of the Americans.—Carleton put Quebec in a state of defence with great skill. Arnold and Montgomery met outside the walls, but their summons to surrender was met by a contemptuous refusal. On the night of December 31st, 1775, they attacked the city in the midst of a blinding snow-storm. Montgomery, making his way along the cliffs from above, was shot dead by a British outpost, and his men fled in confusion. Arnold attacked the Lower Town with great gallantry, but after hard and confused night fighting was driven back, and many of his men captured. Through the winter he continued the siege, but in the spring the arrival of a British fleet compelled him to decamp in haste, with Carleton at his heels. The Americans were driven out of the country, and in the summer of 1776, Arnold's fleet was annihilated on Lake Champlain.

Saratoga.—Meanwhile Carleton had quarrelled with Lord George Germaine, the incompetent British Secretary of War, and had been superseded by General Burgoyne. During the winter Burgoyne gathered his forces at Montreal, and in the spring of 1777 set off up the Richelieu and down Lake Champlain to join hands with another British force which was to march up from New York, and cut the American confederacy in two. But Lord George Germaine muddled the orders; the general at New York went off to attack Philadelphia; Burgoyne,

though victorious at Ticonderoga, was surrounded at Saratoga, and for lack of the support which should have been sent him was compelled to surrender.

Haldimand.—Carleton was succeeded as Governor by Sir Frederick Haldimand, an honest and upright Swiss soldier of fortune. After the defeat of Burgoyne France had joined the Americans against Great Britain, and Haldimand found the Canadians naturally restless. He suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, imprisoned nineteen malcontents, and at this small cost kept the country quiet.

Peace of Paris, 1783.—Not France alone took the American side; Spain and Holland declared war, not from love to the Americans, but in the desire to humble the pride of their great rival, who had so greatly humbled theirs during the Seven Years' War; Russia and Sweden, though nominally at peace, formed an Armed Neutrality and hindered her as much as they dared. But the island race rose to the danger, and none of England's enemies, save her own children, had anything to boast of. France went bankrupt, and brought on herself the horrors of revolution; the trade of Holland was swept from the sea; after a three years' siege the red-cross flag still waved on the rock of Gibraltar. But when a French fleet and an American army forced Lord Cornwallis to surrender at Yorktown (October, 1781), Great Britain saw herself unable to carry on the war in America, and during the summer of 1782 negotiations went on at Paris. Peace was made in 1783 on the basis of American independence, and the United States set off on their career of expansion; from that day the history of Canada has been constantly influenced both for good and ill by having her frontiers march for 3,000 miles with those of that great and growing nation.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT

The Loyalists.—One of the great disputes between the Americans and the British when peace came to be made was about the treatment to be accorded to those who through the war had remained loyal to the mother country. Great Britain pleaded for toleration, but the feeling in the United States was too bitter, and an orgy of cruelty broke out among the victors. Men and women were imprisoned, whipped, tarred and feathered, dragged through horse ponds. Many were hanged; the property of hundreds was confiscated for no other crime than their fidelity to a lost cause. The result was a great migration of the Loyalists to Canada. Many of these were of the best blood in the United States, well-to-do men and women of the landed gentry or the merchant class. It was no light thing for them to leave their comfortable homes and set their faces to the wilderness. But they had suffered much and they longed for the security of the British flag. If their descendants were sometimes unduly suspicious of the motives of the United States, who shall blame them?

Their Coming to Canada.—Great Britain was not unmindful of those who had sacrificed so much for her. Two hundred acres of land were given to each family, and provision made to give as much more to each son when he came of age and to each daughter on marriage. They were also furnished with provisions, seed, and tools, and over $16,000,000 were expended on their behalf. In Upper Canada nearly 3,000,000 acres of land were so

granted. More than 28,000 Loyalists sought refuge in Nova Scotia, where, after a vain attempt to found a city at Shelburne, most of them settled along the fertile valley of the St. John. In Canada a few took up land in the strip north of the American border and south of the seigniories on the St. Lawrence, still known from the method of government introduced by them as the Eastern Townships; but more went west, and began the settlement of what is now Ontario. In the spring of 1783 Captain Michael Grass, of New York, with a number of friends landed on the deserted site of Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, where, he tells us, "I pointed out to them the site of their future metropolis, and gained for persecuted principles a sanctuary, for myself a home." Over 5,000 others took up land along the Bay of Quinte or westward in the fertile Niagara peninsula. Among those who thus went west were the Mohawks, under their great chief, Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea); they had fought on the British side during the war with their old bravery and their old cruelty, and at its close, in fear of the Americans, almost the whole tribe removed to a grant of about 700,000 acres along the Grand River, where their descendants remain to this day.

The Constitutional Act, 1791.—With the coming of the Loyalists new problems of government arose. They had fought for their lawful King and a united Empire, but they were just as strong believers in the right of a man to manage his own affairs as was George Washington himself. They have been called "the Jacobites of North America," but though the poetry and the pathos of their lives is as great as that of the Scotch followers of King James, they were no mere believers in a lost cause and an outworn ideal. They had wished to reform the Empire and the Old Colonial System as strongly as had the rebels, but they had sought reform by peaceful

means and not by the rough road of revolution. Hence, in the new country, they soon found the bounds of the Quebec Act too narrow for them. In Nova Scotia they at once sought representation in the Assembly, and when this was denied them by Governor Parr, they petitioned the British Government to such effect that in 1784 the part of the country in which they had settled was made a new province, with the name of New Brunswick. In Canada, Sir Guy Carleton had in 1786 been sent back as Governor with the title of Lord Dorchester. Carleton had fought with honour during the war, and at its close had been Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. Though still no believer in democracy, he had learned by experience that colonials must not be treated as inferior beings, but must be given a status in no way below that of citizens of an independent country. As Commander-in-chief, he had come to know and to respect the Loyalists, and was from the first willing to grant them local self-government. Many messages passed between him and the British Government, and in 1791 Canada was given a new constitution by the so-called Constitutional Act.

Canada Divided into Two Provinces.—By this Act Canada was divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, now known as Ontario and Quebec. The boundary between them was not stated in the Act, but was laid down later in the year by a royal Order. Reference to the map shows that, after running down the Ottawa River almost to its mouth, the line suddenly cuts across so as to leave Montreal and a small portion of territory west of it within the Lower Province. This is a curious instance of the triumph of history over geography. The French seigniories had extended into this corner, and it was thought wise to keep them within the part of the country in which French law was to prevail.

We shall soon see the difficulties to which this division led.

Terms of the Act.—What manner of government was set up by this Act? To Englishmen of the day, it seemed that they had granted to the two provinces what was, in the words of Lieutenant-governor John Graves Simcoe of Upper Canada to his first Parliament "no mutilated constitution but the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain." The place of the



MONTREAL IN 1784

King was taken by a Governor, with a Lieutenant-governor under him in each province. In practice, owing to the size of the country and the lack of good roads and canals, this resulted in the Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada becoming practically independent of the Governor, who was almost constantly at Quebec, while the Lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada for the most part remained peacefully at home in London and did nothing for the province save draw his salary. The House of Lords was represented by a Legislative

Council, which was at first to consist of not fewer than sixteen members in Lower Canada and seven in Upper Canada. These were appointed for life, nominally by the Crown, really, of course, by the Governor of the province. The House of Commons was represented by a Legislative Assembly elected by the people, and sitting for four years. The parallel between the British and the Canadian constitution seemed complete, but events were to prove that it was about as accurate as Fluellen's famous comparison between King Henry V of England, and Alexander the Great: "There is a river in Monmouth and there is a river in Macedon, and there is salmons in both." Where the parallel broke down was that there was no provision in the Act for making the Governor and his ministers carry out the will of the Assembly.

The Clergy Reserves.—The British Government still thought that the American Colonies had split off because they had been allowed to become too democratic; hence, in the Constitutional Act, provision was made for curbing this spirit by the two great British safeguards of an hereditary nobility and an established Church. Few Englishmen at the time believed in government by the people. In the debate on the Act in the British Parliament, even the great Radical, Charles James Fox, said that that was the best constitution in which "monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy blended . . . nor could any government be a fit one for British subjects to live under, which did not contain its due weight of aristocracy, because that he considered to be the proper poise of the constitution, the power that equalized and meliorated the powers of the two other extreme branches, and gave stability and firmness to the whole." Thus we find that by the Act the King is allowed to grant "hereditary titles of honour, rank, or dignity," and to attach to any of these an hereditary

right to sit in the Legislative Council. There was also to be an endowed Protestant Church, to which was to be given, when any land grants were made to corporations or individuals, "such lands . . . as shall be, as nearly as the same can be estimated . . . equal in value to the seventh part of the land so granted." The Governor was also to have the right of erecting within every township or parish, now or hereafter to be formed, "parsonages or rectories, according to the Established Church of England;" and to endow them with any of the lands in question.

The provision for a Canadian nobility was never put in force; even so firm a believer in aristocracy as Lord Dorchester warned the Government of its unsuitability for a new country; but the question of the Clergy Reserves, as the lands set apart for the Protestant Church were called, was long of great importance, especially in the Upper Province.

Was the Division of the Provinces Wise?—Was the division of the Provinces wise? Did it not prevent any possibility of union between French and English? Fox thought so, and said that "the most desirable circumstance was, that the French and English inhabitants of Canada should unite and coalesce as it were into one body, and that the different distinctions of the people should be extinguished for ever." To this the Prime Minister, William Pitt, son of the great Lord Chatham, replied that people so dissimilar could not at once coalesce, and that the best method eventually to bring them together was to separate them for a time. It would, said Pitt, conciliate the French by showing that we did not wish to force them into union, and they would be able to "look at the operation and effect of British laws, compare them with the operation and effect of their own, and probably in time adopt them from conviction."

The strongest protest against the Act came from the Loyalists in the Eastern Townships and the merchants in Quebec and Montreal, who sent one of their number, Mr. Adam Lymburner, to London, to protest at the Bar of the House of Commons against the Act, and a very able speech he made. By this Act the Loyalists



Ice Bridge between Quebec and Point Levis

saw themselves at the mercy of an uneducated French majority, whose methods of land-holding were entirely different from their own; the merchants saw their trade controlled by laws made by a set of narrow-minded farmers of another race and religion. But the protest was disregarded, and the two provinces set off on their different paths.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WAR OF 1812

Causes of the War.—The peace of 1783 had been framed by Lord Shelburne, a pupil of Lord Chatham. He loved the Americans and hoped that, after the fires of conflict had died down, Great Britain and the new Republic would unite in a great Anglo-American federation. His dream soon faded. In England he was succeeded by smaller men, who treated the new nation with suspicion and endeavoured to hamper its trade; the United States showed, for everything British, hatred which nobler spirits, like Washington, in vain endeavoured to check. In the persecution of the Loyalists it broke the terms of the Treaty and behaved so badly that, till 1796, Great Britain refused to give up a number of the western posts which controlled the fur-trade.

In 1789 revolution broke out in France. King Louis XVI was dethroned and a republican government set up, which in 1793 declared war on Great Britain. As was natural, the sympathy of the American Republic was with the French Republic, and though the new form of government was soon succeeded by the despotism of Napoleon, American sympathy for France continued. Nothing could be more foolish, for had Napoleon once conquered Great Britain he would undoubtedly have tried to build up a great colonial empire and have made the United States his next victim. This war led to increasing difficulties between Great Britain and the United States.

1. The Orders in Council.—For a time American traders made tremendous profits by selling supplies to both countries at war prices, but in 1806 by a Decree issued at Berlin, Napoleon proclaimed all England to be in a state of blockade and gave orders to French ships to capture any neutrals endeavouring to trade with her. In the next year (1807) Great Britain retaliated by Orders in Council laying the whole coast of Europe under a similar blockade. As the British navy was supreme, these Orders did much more harm to American trade than did the Berlin Decree, and American anger fell chiefly upon Great Britain.

2. The Right of Search.—Still greater anger was roused in the United States by England's enforcement of the right of search. Many British sailors, tired of fighting and of the severe discipline, deserted to American ships. Great Britain was at bay, and when fighting for life one cannot be squeamish; she insisted on stopping and searching American ships on the high seas and on retaking deserters. The Americans alleged, and with truth, that British captains in want of a crew often seized American sailors who had not papers with them to prove their nationality. Thus, in 1807, the British man-of-war *Leopard* ordered the American frigate *Chesapeake* to stop, and when she refused, fired into her, compelled her to surrender, and took off several sailors, some of them Americans. Although the British Government somewhat tardily recalled the Admiral by whose orders this had been done and apologized to the United States, the insult rankled.

3. Smaller Causes.—When nations are irritated with each other, little griefs bulk large; in 1807 Sir James Craig, the Governor of Canada, sent John Henry, an Irish adventurer, as his confidential agent to the United States to report to him on the state of feeling there.

In 1812, Henry was refused an office by the British Government, and in anger sold to President Madison copies of Craig's letters. The angry Americans complained that the Governor had been spying on them.

On numerous occasions since 1783 the Americans had been fighting with the Indians in the district now divided into the states of Michigan and Indiana. American frontiersmen were driving back the red man from the hunting grounds of his fathers. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a Shawnee chief, Tecumseh by name, a brave and chivalrous warrior and a far-seeing statesman, succeeded in forming a confederacy to resist the encroachments of the "Long Knives," as he called the Americans. The Indians considered themselves to be the hereditary allies of Great Britain and called on her for aid. Sir James Craig steadily advised them to keep the peace; but many Americans believed that Great Britain was secretly encouraging the Indians against them, and were naturally indignant.

American Declaration of War.—There was much division in the United States. New England, knowing that war would ruin her trade, urged peace. On the other hand, Kentucky and the young Western States were wild for war, and, in order to get their votes in the approaching Presidential election, Madison sacrificed his principles and on June 19th, 1812, declared war on Great Britain, just four days before the Orders in Council were withdrawn. Thus Canada was involved in a quarrel with which she had really nothing to do.

The Campaign of 1812.—The Americans at once invaded Canada. Everything seemed in their favour. In the United States there were at the time about 6,000,000 whites and 1,250,000 negroes, while the population of Lower Canada was about 330,000, of Upper Canada 95,000, of New Brunswick about 60,000, and

of Nova Scotia less than 70,000. There were at this time in British North America less than 10,000 British troops, and in Canada only about 4,450 regulars to defend over 1,200 miles of frontier, from Michilimackinac to Montreal; nor could Great Britain at the crisis of her struggle with Napoleon in the Spanish Peninsula send many more to our aid. Luckily for us the United States had even fewer regulars, and its militia proved very unsatisfactory. Several States refused to send their militia to the front, and though during the war over 500,000 troops were raised, most of these had to be kept on the sea-board to prevent descents by the British navy.

Sir Isaac Brock.—The war began with a British success; on July 17th the American post at Michilimackinac was captured, and the victory turned hundreds of the western Indians into our allies. The two main armies of the enemy were directed one against the Niagara frontier, the other further west. Early in July, General Hull invaded Canada near Windsor and issued a windy proclamation calling on the inhabitants to shake off their chains and join the free Republic; but though many of the settlers in the vicinity were newly arrived American emigrants, few joined him. His army was ill-equipped with food, and the ravages of his troops more than spoiled the effect of his proclamation. Meanwhile Sir Isaac Brock, a gallant British general, at the time Administrator of Upper Canada, col-

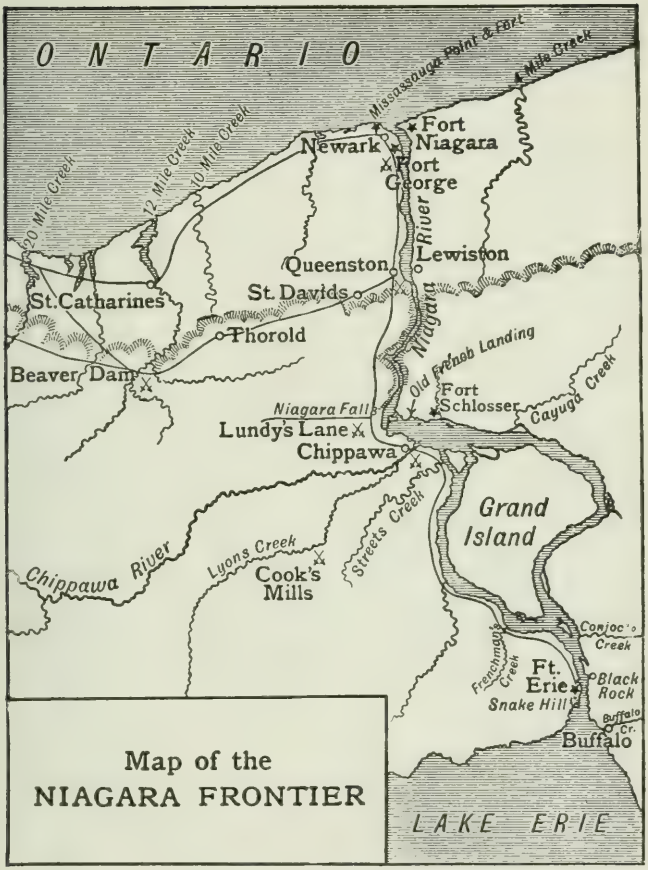


SIR ISAAC BROCK

lected his few regulars and called out the militia. The Loyalists and their sons nobly responded to his call, and though there were undoubtedly some American sympathizers, they were cowed by Brock's vigour. The Legislature, however, refused his request to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, whereat Brock dissolved it and took matters into his own hands.

The Capture of Detroit.—On Brock's approach, Hull retreated to Detroit, which he garrisoned with thirty-three cannon and 2,500 men. Brock now gathered his forces at Amherstburg, on the Canadian bank of the Detroit River, where he was joined by some 600 Indians under Tecumseh. The Shawnees had in the year before, in the absence of Tecumseh, been defeated at Tippecanoe by the Americans under General Harrison, and were burning for revenge. Even with this reinforcement Brock had with him only about 700 regulars and 600 Indians, but he at once crossed the river and began the siege of Detroit, aided by a plan of the town and fort drawn for him by Tecumseh on a piece of birch-bark. Hull was old and timid, his men were in deadly fear of the Indians, and on August 16th the garrison of Detroit, with vast supplies of military stores, tamely surrendered to a force of half their numbers. The capitulation included the entire territory of Michigan. Hull was in the next year condemned to death for cowardice, but pardoned in consideration of his former good service.

Queenston Heights.—Meanwhile Sir George Prevost, the Governor, had made an armistice in the hope that the repeal of the Orders in Council and the influence of Massachusetts might incline the Americans toward peace. The only result was to enable them to bring up stores and men along the Niagara frontier. Here in the early dawn of October 13th they crossed the



War of 1812-14

river below the Falls in flat boats, and after some loss occupied Queenston Heights. Brock came galloping up from Fort George at the mouth of the river, and with reckless gallantry led a charge up the slope, only to fall, shot through the breast. The York volunteers

dashed forward to avenge him, but were beaten back, and by ten o'clock the battle seemed over. Had the American militia who lined the opposite shore crossed over to help their friends, the whole Niagara peninsula would have been lost, but as a spectator said: "the name of Indian, or the sight of the wounded, or the devil, or something else petrified them and they would not move." British reinforcements came up under General Roger Sheaffe, and by a long flank march succeeded in taking the invaders in the rear. In the afternoon a new attack was made; with the river behind them and British regulars and whooping Indians in front, the Americans broke and fled; many perished in the waters and nearly a thousand were captured. But Brock had fallen, and the loss could not be measured by regiments. Later in the year, a British ship carrying Brock's sword, papers, and other effects, was captured on Lake Ontario by Chauncey, the American Commodore. With true chivalry the gallant sailor at once sent on the relics of the dead hero to his relatives in England.

The Chesapeake and the Shannon.—On land, where they had expected "a walk to Quebec," the Americans had fared badly; on sea, where Britain had long been supreme, the well-equipped American frigates were victorious in several single-ship actions. There was no lack of bravery in the British sailor; he fought till his ship was a wreck and half the men killed or wounded; but the Americans showed equal seamanship and better gunnery. Great was the wrath and amazement in Great Britain at the defeat of men trained by Nelson, and great was the joy when in the next year (June 1st, 1813), Captain Broke of the *Shannon* defeated and captured off Boston the American frigate *Chesapeake*, and towed her into Halifax harbour. Later in the war, the British

fleet asserted its superiority and swept American commerce from the sea.

The Campaign of 1813. Capture of York.—The year 1813 began with raids all along the frontier. The American fleet was the first to put out of harbour, and sailing across Lake Ontario, captured and burned the town of York (April 27th). In the fight the magazine exploded, and 250 American soldiers were hurled into the air. By his inefficiency in this action, General Sheaffe tarnished the reputation which he had won at Queens-



York in Early Nineteenth Century

ton, and was superseded. To regain control of the lake, Sir George Prevost attacked Sackett's Harbour, realizing, as the Duke of Wellington wrote a little later, that "any offensive operations founded upon Canada must be preceded by the establishment of a naval superiority on the Lakes." But Prevost was weak and irresolute and drew off his men when they were on the point of success.

Stoney Creek and Beaver Dams.—On the Niagara frontier the Americans captured Fort George, and cross-

ing over swept down on Hamilton. At Stoney Creek, however, the British regulars turned to bay, and under Captain (afterwards Sir) John Harvey made a fierce night attack (June 5th). The sleeping sentries were bayoneted "in the quietest manner," and the invaders were driven back with the loss of a hundred prisoners, among whom were both their generals. Soon after about 500 Americans, with two guns, endeavoured to surprise the British post at Beaver Dams (near Thorold), but missed their way in the beech woods, were attacked by Colonel Fitzgibbon, a dare-devil Irishman, with about thirty men and a few Indians, lost their nerve, and surrendered.

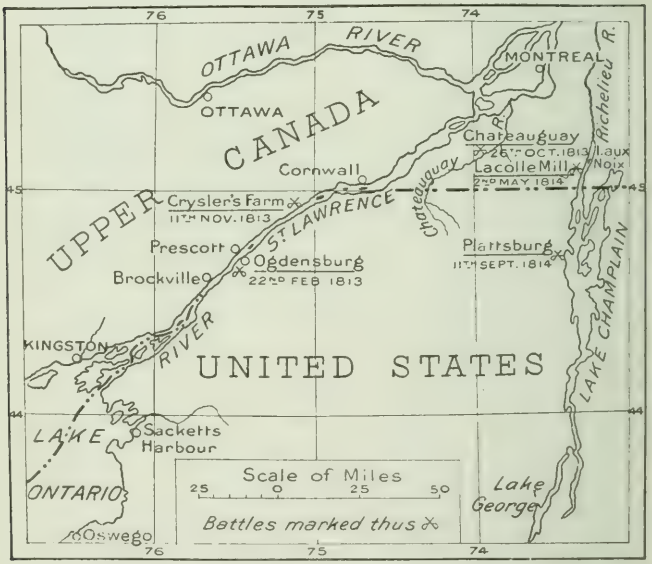
Laura Secord.—Fitzgibbon had known nothing of the coming of the Americans, and would undoubtedly have been surprised had it not been for the valour of a woman. At Queenston, Sergeant James Secord was lying helpless from his wounds. Both he and his wife, Laura, were children of Loyalists, and hated the Americans for the wrongs done to their parents. When the American troops reached Queenston, Secord and his wife at once suspected that they were on their way to surprise Fitzgibbon, who had been active in harassing the outposts of the American army. Secord lay helpless, but his wife undertook to warn Fitzgibbon. "She was already in her thirty-eighth year, and the mother of five children. The roads in many places were ankle deep in mud, the country was sparsely settled, and the woods were known to be haunted by bands of Indians and white marauders, who hung upon the skirts of the armies, yet she never faltered in her resolution." Leaving the house in the first flush of dawn, she started on her way. The story has often been told of her taking a pail on her arm, and passing the American sentry on the pretence of milking a cow in the field beyond, but it seems prob-

able that the excuse which she really made was her desire to visit her brother, who lay dangerously ill some miles away. Heedless of wolves and rattlesnakes, she travelled by a circuitous route through the woods, and more than once forded a swollen stream. "For a time she seems to have lost her way, but after walking a distance of about nineteen miles, she at last reached a branch of Twelve Mile Creek, and recognized her whereabouts. Finding the creek much swollen by rain and the bridge removed or swept away, she was compelled to cross by crawling on her hands and knees along the trunk of a fallen tree. Toiling up the steep bank beyond she stumbled into the midst of a group of sleeping Indians, who sprang to their feet with piercing yells. It was with great difficulty she made her object understood by their chief, who understood but a few words of English, and some delay ensued before she was intrusted to Fitzgibbon." * The time of her arrival at her destination is uncertain. Some place it in the evening, some just at the dawn of the following day. The modesty of this heroine of Upper Canada led her to make no record of her adventures, and the story only came out more than forty years later. Uncertain and contradictory accounts of some of the details have therefore grown up, but the main facts are undoubted. It is pleasant to think that Laura Secord lived to a vigorous old age, dying in 1868 at the age of ninety-three.

Moraviantown.—On Lake Erie the British squadron under Captain Barclay was defeated at Put-in-Bay by the Americans under Commodore Perry. So bravely did they fight that at the end of the day both fleets were shattered wrecks, but the victory was Perry's, and the British

* Colonel E. Cruikshank: *The Fight in the Beechwoods.* (Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1895.)

army under General Procter, which had been holding Michigan, was compelled hurriedly to return to Canada and retire up the Thames River. Previous to this time Procter had shown skill and resolution, and with an inferior force had held the Americans at bay, but he now made a headlong retreat, heedless of Tecumseh, who compared him to "a fat dog with its tail between its legs." Tecumseh's old enemy, Harrison, with a force of Kentucky riflemen who had no fear of the Indians, was soon at his heels, and at Moraviantown, Procter's dispirited troops were swept away in shameful flight. Tecumseh fought hard and died on the field (October 5th).



ST. LAWRENCE AND CHAMPLAIN REGION
WAR 1812-14

Chateauguay and Crysler's Farm.—Thus encouraged, the Americans made a double attack on Montreal. One army under General Hampton took the old line of the

Richelieu, but at Chateauguay were met by a small force of French Canadian voltigeurs under Colonel De Salaberry (October 26th). De Salaberry had only 300 men in his fighting line, and 600 more in reserve under Colonel Macdonell. These latter had come from Kingston, 170 miles by water and 20 by land, in 60 hours. They had shot the rapids in their clumsy bateaux, without losing a boat or a man. No finer march was made during the whole war. When the battle joined, the French Canadians fought amid the woods with such blithe gallantry and skilful woodcraft, the bugles blew so cheerily from different parts of the field, that with a loss of twenty-five men De Salaberry completely routed an army of 3,000. This was perhaps the most dashing action of the whole war, and showed how loyal the French had become to British institutions. Meanwhile another American army under General Wilkinson had landed below Prescott and come down the St. Lawrence, partly in boats and partly on land; but at Crysler's Farm 800 British under Colonel Morrison defeated the land force of over 2,000, and though Wilkinson pushed on for a day or two, the news of Chateauguay caused him to retreat. Skirmishing still went on along the Niagara frontier; the Americans burned Newark, the former capital, and turned the inhabitants out into the December cold. In return General Gordon Drummond, the new Administrator of Upper Canada, swept the Niagara frontier with fire and sword from Lewiston right up to "the flourishing village of Buffalo."

Campaign of 1814. Lundy's Lane.—In 1814 the enemy again tried the Richelieu route, but were defeated at Lacolle Mill. On Lake Ontario there was some indecisive fighting, but the hottest of the campaign was on the Niagara frontier. The Americans were no longer the unskilled militia of Queenston, but hardy veterans, and

at Chippawa under General Brown they inflicted a bloody defeat on the British under General Riall (July 5th). At Lundy's Lane, near the Falls, the two armies met again (July 25th), the Americans under Brown with the gallant Winfield Scott as second in command, the British under Riall. From six o'clock to nine they fought through the summer evening, the roar of the Falls sounding high over the roar of the musketry. At first the Americans had the advantage, but Drummond came up with reinforcements, and at midnight, with both Brown and Scott wounded, the enemy drew off to Chippawa and on the next day re-crossed the river. The British lost 878 out of 3,000, the Americans 854 out of 4,000. It was a soldier's battle, the bulk of the fighting being done by subordinate officers like Harvey and by the British infantry and the Canadian citizen soldiery, who fought side by side with equal valour.



BLOCKHOUSE, KINGSTON
(Built soon after 1812)

Plattsburg.—Meanwhile great events had been happening in Europe. In April Napoleon was compelled by the allies to abdicate, and was deported to the island of Elba. Sixteen thousand of Wellington's Peninsular veterans were now sent to Canada, and early in September Prevost with 11,000 men attacked Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain; but when the squadron which accompanied him under Captain Downie was defeated and its brave leader killed, Prevost at once retreated. So angry and ashamed were the officers under him, that many broke their swords in his presence. The Duke of Well-

ington held that the whole attack was a mistake, and that even if Prevost had won, he could not have held the post; but his weakness had made him so much disliked that he was recalled, dying at the age of forty-eight, just in time to avoid a court-martial. He was a kindly man who had won the love of the French, and might in time of peace have done well; confronted by a crisis he failed.

Burning of Washington.—During the summer of this year the British fleet sailed up the Potomac, and landed an army which defeated the Americans at Bladensburg, under the eyes of President Madison. The beautiful public buildings at Washington were burned in just though cruel reprisal for the American burning of York and Newark.

Naval War on Lake Ontario.—During all these years there had been much hard sailing and hard fighting on Lake Ontario. Though no action on this lake equalled in importance Perry's victory on Lake Erie, the American tars under Chauncey and the British under Sir James Yeo saw much service, as they threshed their clumsy brigs and top-heavy schooners to and fro all the way from Kingston to Hamilton, in the endeavour to keep open the lines of communication and to escort the provision ships on which both armies so largely depended. The British ships were on the whole the more reliable, the American the more quickly built. On one occasion Chauncey completed a twenty-four-gun ship in fifty-eight days from the time timber was first felled in the bush. In the year 1814, by the orders of Sir James Yeo, the St. Lawrence was built at Kingston Navy Yard. She carried 102 guns, and was so powerful that, for the autumn months of 1814, she gave the British control of Lake Ontario without firing a gun.

The Treaty of Ghent.—By this time all parties were

weary of war; negotiations began at Ghent in Holland, and peace was eventually signed (December 24th) on the basis of the *status quo.* Earlier in the year the British had captured Castine near the mouth of the Penobscot River, and advantage might have been taken of this to try to rectify our eastern frontier line; but the defeat at Plattsburg and the desire of Great Britain to devote herself to the great European settlement which was going on, led to the Americans getting better terms than they had expected earlier in the year.

By the terms of the Peace neither of the two main causes of war was settled. The Orders in Council had already been repealed and nothing was said about the right of search, which Great Britain did not give up till the Conference of Paris in 1856. During the war the shipping of the United States was swept from the sea, its exports dropped from over $100,000,000 a year to $7,000,000, and had it not been for the skill of its negotiators at Ghent it might not have escaped without loss of territory. President Madison had indeed paid dearly for his re-election.

New Orleans.—The hardest fighting took place after peace was signed. A splendid army of Peninsular veterans under General Pakenham attacked New Orleans (January, 1815), but Pakenham, with mad bravery, led his men over an open space against ramparts skilfully built of cotton bales by General Andrew Jackson. It was not a fight but a butchery; Pakenham and 2,000 men fell before the deadly fire which was poured in upon them, without ever coming to grips with the invisible foe.

Results of the War.—The help given us by Great Britain had been ungrudging. Gallantly as our militia fought, without the regulars we should have been swallowed up. The name of Brock is still remembered as the hero of Upper Canada, and that of Drummond

is only less honourable. But in the following years the Colonial Office showed sad stupidity. Its head for many years was the timid and commonplace Lord Bathurst, whose one desire was peace with the United States at any price. In 1816 he wrote requesting the Canadian Government to leave all the frontier from Lake Champlain to Montreal in a state of nature, grumbled at the settlements in the Eastern Townships, and urged that they be discouraged. In 1817 he ordered all emigration into Canada from the United States to be prohibited, but his orders were not carried out.

To Canada the war gave an heroic tradition. Men of French, Scotch, Irish, English descent had stood side by side with the regulars of Great Britain and had fought as gallantly as they. It was our baptism of blood, and so far in this world that has been the only real baptism of a nation. It is less pleasing to think of the long years of hatred of the United States which date from this war; but to many men patriotism is impossible without a little hatred, and memories of the war did much to steady Canadians in the years of trial which were to come.



A British Officer, 1812

The Rush-Bagot Treaty.— Yet even while the embers of strife were still hot, Great Britain and the United States entered into an agreement, the good spirit and common sense of which were full of hope for the future. In 1817 an arrangement was made

between them, known from the names of its negotiators as the Rush-Bagot Treaty, by which both powers agreed to maintain no war vessels on the lakes save on Lake Ontario one vessel not exceeding one hundred tons burden, and armed with one eighteen-pound cannon; on the Upper Lakes, two similar vessels; on Lake Champlain, one similar vessel; and to dismantle all other vessels of war built or building on the lakes.

This agreement confined the armed force of the two nations on inland waters to small vessels, suitable for putting down smuggling and illegal fishing. It still remains in force, though the United States has been allowed by Great Britain and Canada to break it to the extent of having several larger and more heavily armed vessels on the lakes to use as training ships. That this infringement has been allowed is really a proof of the confidence felt by Canada in the peaceful intentions of her neighbour; and though both countries are justly proud of brave deeds done and chivalry shown during the war, we may now say with confidence:

> No more shall the war-cry sever,
> Or the winding rivers be red.

CHAPTER XV

MATERIAL PROGRESS, 1763–1837

I. Lower Canada

Population.—Once given peace, Lower Canada increased rapidly in population, though there was little immigration save into the Eastern Townships, into which a number of settlers came from Great Britain and the United States. The following table shows the growth:

Year	Lower Canada	Montreal	Upper Canada	Toronto
1765	69,000	9,000	———	——
1790	161,000	18,000	30,000	——
1825	479,000	37,000	158,000	1,677
1830	550,000	43,000	213,000	2,860
1837	600,000	50,000	397,500	9,654

Farming and Lumbering.—In the main the French kept to their old ways, and farmed their long ribbons of land as their fathers had done. Between Montreal and Quebec the country had the same look of a never-ending village which early travellers had noted. The new industry of lumbering grew up and centred at Quebec, from which port as many as six hundred ships a year cleared with squared timber for Great Britain. This Canadian timber was favoured by the British Government, paying a much smaller duty on entering Great Britain than that from Norway, Sweden, and the other countries around the Baltic Sea. But the value of this industry to the country was much less than that of farming; the lumber-jack often led a wild, drunken life, "light

come, light go," and was not a good citizen; the timber was not manufactured in Canada but exported to England in the rough; most of the profits went to a few business men who lived in England.

Education.—The great mistake made by the government in Lower Canada was the neglect of education. Before the conquest there had been a number of schools in the province, some of which taught reading and writing and others a certain amount of agriculture and carpentry. Most of these had been under the control of the Jesuits; but the secrecy of the Order had made it unpopular, and though all the other religious Orders were confirmed in their possessions by the British Government, the estates of the Jesuits were confiscated, and for a long time hardly any other schools were started. Writing in 1784 to the British Government, the Postmaster-general, Mr. Hugh Finlay, wisely said: "Before we think of a House of Assembly for this country, let us lay a foundation for useful knowledge to fit the people to judge of their situation and deliberate for the future well-being of the province. The first step toward this desirable end is to have a free school in every parish—let the schoolmasters be English if we would make Englishmen of the Canadians; let the masters be Roman Catholic if it is necessary, for perhaps the people, at the instigation of the priests, would not put their children under the tuition of a Protestant." Unfortunately, Mr. Finlay's wise advice was not taken, the difficulty being that the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches each endeavoured to keep the schools strictly under its own control, and would have nothing to do with a provincial system. In the French schools the teachers were often grossly ignorant. "A great proportion of the teachers could neither read nor write," wrote Lord Durham in 1838; "the gentleman whom

I directed to inquire into the state of education in the province showed me a petition from certain schoolmasters which had come into his hands, and the majority of the signatures were those of marksmen." Education of a sort indeed there was; the clergy taught their flocks to be good fathers and mothers, faithful husbands and wives; Roman Catholic Colleges in several parts of the province trained large numbers for the priesthood or for the learned professions of advocate, notary, or doctor; but of education bringing the two races together, enabling them to live in harmony and to work in harmony the political system which had been set up, there was little or none. In 1821 McGill University was founded, but in primary and secondary schools the province remained very far behind its neighbours.

II. Upper Canada

Soldier Settlers. — The settlement of Upper Canada was to a large extent military. Many of the Loyalists were disbanded soldiers, of whom Butler's Rangers, who settled in the western part of the province near Niagara, are the best known. From 1784 onwards Roman Catholic Highlanders, led by their priests, were granted land in and about the county of Glengarry, and in the next twenty years founded the towns of Cornwall, Prescott, and Brockville. Early in the nineteenth



A British Sergeant, 1812

century a settlement was made north of Lake Erie, in what is now the county of Elgin, by Colonel Thomas Talbot, a fierce little Irish gentleman, who hated Scotchmen and women, turned teetotallers out of his house, and built the only good road in the province. In 1827 he founded London, which in the next year became the judicial capital of the district. After the Napoleonic Wars more disbanded soldiers and half-pay officers came in, and founded Perth and other towns in the Ottawa valley. Between 1830 and 1840 soldier settlements spread along Lake Simcoe.

The Canada Company.—But it was not only soldiers who came. The biggest single attempt at settlement was made in Western Ontario by an English land company, known as "The Canada Company," which at first endeavoured to buy up a great block of the Clergy Reserves, and, failing in this, obtained a grant of about 1,100,000 acres of fertile land near Lake Huron, known as "The Huron Tract," which they disposed of to settlers on easy terms. Guelph (1827) and Goderich (1827) are two of the towns founded by them.

Emigration.—Emigration in those days was not the easy thing it is now. Ships often took more than six weeks to come from Glasgow or Liverpool to Quebec or Montreal. Only gradually were laws made controlling the greed of sea-captains and emigration agents, and even then these laws were easily evaded. Insufficient water was provided, and ignorant doctors. So filthy were the emigration ships that they could be told by the smell. The Inspector at Quebec wrote to Lord Durham: "I have known as many as from thirty to forty deaths to have taken place, in the course of a voyage, from typhus fever on board of a ship containing from 500 to 600 passengers; and within six weeks after the

arrival of some vessels, and the landing of the passengers at Quebec the hospital has received upwards of 100 patients at different times from among them." After 1837, when the quarantine station at Grosse Isle was given power to keep all emigrant ships at anchor till they could show a clean bill of health, matters greatly improved; but many of the emigrants, especially those sent out by the English parishes, were very inferior, both morally and physically—often drunken and improvident, and too old to gain their livelihood by working.

Those brought out by The Canada Company were of a much better class than these, and so were most of those from the United States, a large number of whom took up land in western Ontario. The most celebrated of the Americans was Philemon Wright, of Massachusetts, who founded Hull (1800), and established a large farm and a permanent lumber camp which floated timber down the Ottawa River to Montreal.

After 1825 a large emigration set in from the south of Ireland. Most of those who thus came were extremely poor, and quite unaccustomed to the kind of farming necessary in Upper Canada, good at spade work, but unused to plough, harrow, or axe. But though many of them suffered great hardship, hundreds of their descendants have to-day reached ease and prosperity.

The Towns.—Till about 1830 the largest town was Kingston, which had also the chief Navy Yard; in 1816 it had about 1,000 people. Then came "muddy little York," with not quite 800; hither the capital had been moved in 1794 from Newark on the Niagara River. A visitor in 1798 found it "a dreary village of a dozen houses," without a church, a school-house, or even an inn.

Clearing the Land.—Most of the people were farmers. In the early days their lot was a hard one, harder far than in New Ontario to-day, with none of the comforts railways have put within our reach.



Corner of King and Yonge Streets, Toronto, One Hundred Years Ago (1812)

The lands were apportioned to the first settlers by lot, thus preventing any fear of cheating. After a man had reached his land, he found that there was much to do before a single meal could be won. The soil had to be "underbrushed," that is, the smaller timber and brush cleared away. Then the big trees had to be cut down and burned. Occasionally the stumps were dragged out with great logging chains drawn by oxen, or pried out with levers; more often they were left as they were, till the action of wind and weather wore them away.

Early Farming.—After the land was cleared, it was broken up with a spade or with a heavy plough. Sometimes the pioneers had not even these rough instruments, and the land was scraped with the heavy bough of a tree. Often a bundle of rough boughs tied together at the end was used as a harrow. When ripe, the grain was cut with a sickle or reaping-hook, an implement afterwards superseded by the scythe. Threshing was done with a flail, an instrument made of two hardwood

sticks tied together at one end with a leather thong. Many a weary hour was spent by the boys of the family threshing out the grain with this primitive implement.

Mills.—After the grain was threshed, at first the settlers ground it on the farm in a "plumping-mill," or "hominy-block." This was a bowl, usually made by hollowing out a stump, sometimes by the use of a red-hot cannon ball. In this the grain was crushed with a hardwood pestle, six to eight feet long, flat at the bottom and about eight inches across, tapering to two or three inches at the top. Mills were few and far between. The first mill in Upper Canada was built in the year of the coming of Captain Grass (1783) at the falls on the Cataraqui River, about six miles from Kingston. Many a man has walked home from it thirty miles through the forest, with a sack of flour on his back, and to drive over a hundred miles to reach it was not uncommon.

The First House.—The first house was usually a shanty of logs, roughly squared with the axe. Mud was used instead of plaster. The roof was of bark, or logs, and a blanket was hung up for a door. Gradually, as saw-mills were introduced, frame houses were found to be cleaner and in the long run cheaper. Lime was made by heating broken limestone upon great fires of logs and brushwood. The first brick house in the province was built at Belleville in 1794, with bricks baked near Trenton.

Along one wall of these early shanties was a hearth made of stones, with a chimney of logs and mud. On the hearth the great "back-log," usually of elm, smouldered through the winter nights. This wide fireplace, with its roaring draught, ensured good ventilation, and the air, though often smoky, was never impure. Cooking was done over this fire, either on a long spit or

in a great pot hung on a projecting iron rod. The introduction of stoves improved the cooking, but spoiled the ventilation.

Furniture and Clothes.—Not only the house but the furniture had to be made on the spot by the farmer. A rough table, a few chairs, a bed with boughs of spruce or cedar instead of a mattress, were often all the furniture of people who had been brought up in comfort. Some of them had brought clothes from their old homes, and for a time the farmer might go about in the long blue frock-coat, knee-breeches, and silver-buckled shoes which he had worn in happier days; but usually the coat had to be cut up to make garments for the children. Soon sheep were introduced, and though they were often worried by wolves, each little settlement usually had enough sheep to supply it with wool, and few houses were complete without the spinning-wheel, at which the thrifty housewife worked in the long winter evenings. Boots also had to be made at home, and most people wore moccasins made of untanned leather. Sometimes this leather was also made into clothes, and the story is told of a recently arrived immigrant, who washed her only garment in strong "soft soap," and found it shrink to very scanty proportions.

Potash.—The wood cut down in clearing the land was not wholly wasted. Almost every farm had its "leaching tub" and "potash kettle," in which the ashes were prepared, sometimes to be made into soft soap for family use, sometimes to be sold as potash in the nearest village.

The Famine Year.—The year after the British Government ceased to supply the settlers with food, the misery was so terrible that it was long known as "The Famine Year." Men, women, and children ate pigweed or roots or Indian cabbage. Some died of starvation. What

wonder that many sold their land for a little food and went into the villages to work as labourers.

Growth of Comfort.—Gradually settlement spread, and a little comfort came in. The travelling Yankee pedlar began to go about the country, selling his "notions," as Sam Slick said, "by a mixture of soft sawder and human natur," and by his gossip keeping the farmer's wife a little in touch with the world outside. The grist-mill took the place of the hominy-block. "Bees," as the gatherings of the country people to help each other were called, were a great feature; there were husking bees, sewing bees, bees of all sorts. Of these the chief was the logging bee, when the whole settlement gathered to help clear the land by piling up the logs which had been cut in the previous winter. At these there was often much hard drinking; but there were also indoor and outdoor games for both sexes, and much innocent jollity. "The merry sugar-making" in the springtime was a great occasion, when the sap began to flow, and all hands turned out to the sugar-bush. Local "fairs" sprang up in every township and county, and were a feature of rural life till the coming of the railway made it so easy for people to go to the great centres that the local fairs became of less importance.

Fish of all kinds were plentiful; so were deer and other game, including the passenger-pigeon, now extinct but then flying in such great flocks that they sometimes broke down the branches of trees in which they lit. But in spite of this rude profusion, it was a hard life, especially for the women. Many a young mother grew old before her time, or died before a doctor could be brought. All honour to the pioneers, and most of all to the gallant women of the early days.

Roads.—At first, communication was by water or by trails through the bush. Gradually roads were built.

Governor Simcoe was a great road-maker, built Yonge Street from Toronto to Lake Simcoe, and planned a road from Amherstburg to Montreal, with branch roads from Ancaster to Niagara. These were soon constructed by his successors, and coaches ran between Montreal and Kingston (1808), Kingston and Toronto (1817), Toronto and Niagara (1816). But it proved easier to build roads than to keep them in repair, and in 1837 there was but one good road in the province, that built by Colonel Talbot, which ran through St. Thomas parallel to Lake Erie, and was afterwards extended to Niagara and Windsor. In the same year a journey from Hamilton to Niagara took thirteen hours, the coach jolted and lurched over the corduroy roads, and the passengers usually arrived more dead than alive. Here is a description of a journey made near Hamilton in the beginning of July, 1837, by Mrs. Jameson, wife of the Vice-chancellor of Upper Canada: "We often sank in mud-holes above the axle-tree; then over trunks of trees laid across swamps, called here corduroy roads, were my poor bones dislocated. A wheel here and there, or broken shaft lying by the road-side, told of former wrecks and disasters. In some places they had, in desperation, flung huge boughs of oak into the mud abyss, and covered them with clay and sod, the rich green foliage projecting on either side. This sort of illusive contrivance would sometimes give way, and we were nearly precipitated in the midst. By the time we arrived at Blandford, my hands were swelled and blistered by continually grasping with all my strength an iron bar in front of my vehicle, to prevent myself from being flung out."*

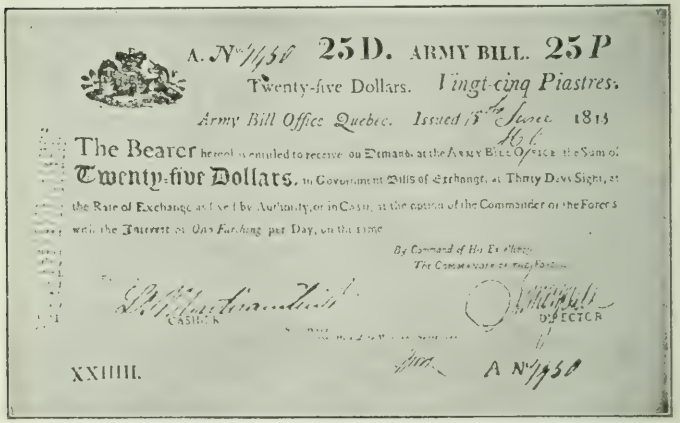
* Mrs. Jameson: "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada." (London, 1838)

Canals.—As a water-way the St. Lawrence was inadequate without canals. Upper Canada attempted to construct them, but found the task too expensive, and, beyond building a small canal at Lachine, the Lower Province refused to co-operate. Thus there was little provincial intercourse. In 1839 the Governor-general, Lord Sydenham, thus describes his journey from Montreal to Kingston: "The journey was bad enough; a portage to Lachine; then the steamboat to the Cascades, twenty-four miles further; then road again (if road it can be called) for sixteen miles; then steam to Prescott, forty miles; then road twelve miles; then by change of steamer into Lake Ontario to Kingston." Such traffic as there was on the St. Lawrence was done in bateaux, broad French boats with a single square sail, which at the rapids were either dragged by men or oxen, with ropes, or carried bodily over the portage. A little later came the broad, flat Durham boats. Navigation in Lower Canada was in a better state; on November 4th, 1809, the steamer *Accommodation*, owned by Mr. John Molson, with a maximum speed of four miles an hour, reached Quebec from Montreal.

Though the rapids of the St. Lawrence proved insurmountable, between 1826 and 1829 the Welland Canal was built by a private company, aided by the Legislature. Between 1827 and 1831 the Rideau Canal was built by Great Britain. During the war American control of the St. Lawrence had cut Canada in two, and the Rideau was built to give a back door between Kingston and Montreal, though it was also expected to aid the trade of the province more than it did. The engineer in charge was Colonel By, whose camp at the mouth of the Rideau, known as Bytown, has grown into the great and thriving city of Ottawa.

Money and Banking.—Most of the early trade of

both provinces was done by barter, but the war brought British money into the country and greatly increased its prosperity. In 1813 Philemon Wright threshed 3,000 bushels of wheat at a cost of $2,000, and sold it to the troops at $3.00 a bushel. The payment was probably made in "Army Bills," which were issued during the war by the Governor-general, bore interest at six per cent., and were afterwards paid off by the British Government. These were readily accepted, and were


A. N°1456 25 D. ARMY BILL. 25 P

Twenty-five Dollars. Vingt-cinq Piastres.

Army Bill Office Quebec. Issued 15th June 1813

The Bearer hereof is entitled to receive on Demand at the ARMY BILL OFFICE the Sum of

Twenty-five Dollars, in Government Bills of Exchange, at Thirty Days Sight, at the Rate of Exchange as fixed by Authority, or in Cash, at the option of the Commander of the Forces with the Interest of One Farthing per Day, on the same

By Command of His Excellency
The Commander of the Forces

CASHIER DIRECTOR

XXIIII. A N°1456

ARMY BILL OF 1813

really a sort of bank-note. In 1817 the growth of trade led to the opening of the Bank of Upper Canada at Kingston; in the same year the Bank of Montreal was started as a private company, and in 1822 was given a charter.

Education.—But though conditions were so primitive, the settlers were not unmindful of higher things. The American Colonies had always shown a fine zeal for education, and in this the Loyalists were true to the stock from which they came. Schools of all kinds,

Classical Schools, Garrison Schools, Dames' Schools, Grammar Schools, were founded and were helped by the little province with grants of land and of money. No compulsion, however, was put upon parents to send their children, and many a boy and girl grew up in ignorance. The girls' education, especially, was bad, save the training in sewing, cooking, and housekeeping which was given them by their mothers. In 1785 the first school in the province was opened at Kingston (then Cataraqui) by the Rev. Dr. John Stuart, who set up in a little log cabin what he called a Select Classical School. In the same year a Garrison School for the children of soldiers was started in the same place. The first school at York opened its door in 1798. Soon afterwards Grammar Schools were started at Kingston, Cornwall, York, and Niagara. In 1816 a Common School system was begun and was helped by the Government, so that by 1826 there were eleven Grammar Schools with about 300 pupils and 350 Common Schools with 8,000 pupils. By 1840, out of 220,000 children under the age of sixteen, about 30,000 attended school. The most celebrated schoolmaster of these early days was the Rev. John Strachan, and whatever we may think of his politics, of which we shall hear later, we must all bow to him as a teacher. In 1800 he founded a school at Kingston, whence he moved in a few years to Cornwall, and then to York (1812). Nearly all the celebrated men of the province were his pupils, among others Robinson and Baldwin, afterwards the leaders of opposite political parties, and widely as they came to differ, both always looked back with gratitude to the lessons of truth and honour and devotion to religion which he had taught them. In the country schools, however, many of the teachers were old soldiers, whose knowledge went little, if at all, beyond the elements of

Reading, 'Riting, 'Rithmetic, and who kept order by a free and frequent use of the "tawse." Their salaries were small, and they were boarded round among the parents of their pupils, living for a few months with each in turn. Dilworth's Spelling Book, and the New Testament were often the only text-books.

Only at the end of this period did Universities struggle into being. In 1827 a Provincial University was given a Royal Charter with the name of King's College, but the resolute attempt of Dr. Strachan to keep it entirely under the control of the Church of England caused delay, and it did not begin work till 1843. In 1829 Upper Canada College was founded in Toronto by the Government with a staff of graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, but its work did not go much beyond that done in the Grammar Schools. The narrowness of the Lieutenant-governors and of the Council forced the other religious bodies into founding Universities, if only to give a preliminary training to their theological students. In 1836 the Methodists obtained a charter for Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg, which in 1841 changed its name to Victoria University and began University work with Egerton Ryerson as its first president. In 1839 the Scotch Presbyterians obtained a charter for Queen's University, which opened its doors at Kingston in March, 1842.

Newspapers.—Newspapers have been called "the poor man's University." The first newspaper established in Upper Canada was the *Gazette*, of which the first number was issued at Newark on April 18th, 1793. Not till 1836 did the province boast of a daily paper. In that year the *Royal Standard* was issued in Toronto.

Religion.—However, the great centre of intellectual life was not the school but the Church. The first Roman Catholic church was erected in Glengarry County in

1787. The most celebrated priest of those early days was Alexander Macdonell, a splendid Highlander who came out in 1804, and who during the war raised the Glengarry Light Infantry from among the old soldiers of his flock and went with them to the front as their chaplain. Later on he was appointed Bishop of Kingston, the first Roman Catholic Bishop in Upper Canada. The first Church of England service was held at Kingston, with the Rev. John Stuart as clergyman. He was a splendid-looking man, known as "the little gentleman," because of his good manners, and because he stood six feet four in his bare feet. The first Anglican church was that built by the British Government at Brantford in 1786 for the Mohawks, but service must have been irregular, as Dr. Stuart was minister of this also. Though the Church of England was favoured by both the British Government and the Lieutenant-governor, it did not grow so fast as either the Presbyterian or the Methodist body. The first Presbyterian church was built in 1787 in Glengarry County, with the Rev. John Bethune as minister. Methodism was brought into Canada by the Loyalists and had its centre around the Bay of Quinte. The first clergyman was William Losee, a Loyalist. Its system of lay preachers fitted it to spread the ordinances of religion among the early pioneers, and no other religious body grew so fast. These lay preachers were often untaught men, uncouth in manner, and even absurd in their views, but they did a noble work which could not have been otherwise done. Later on, when immigration came in from the United States, the groundless charge of spreading disloyalty was often made against these lay preachers. In 1828 the Methodists split off from the American Church and founded a separate Conference of their own. In that year, of their forty-six clergymen, all but three were British

subjects. There was also in the province a body of Wesleyan Methodists, in close connection with the English Conference of that Church.

In 1820 the number of Protestant clergy in the province was as follows:

Church of England	16
Presbyterian and Congregational	15
Baptist	18
Methodist	33*
Mennonites	7
Friends (that is, Quakers)	10

*The Methodists also employed 112 lay preachers.

CHAPTER XVI

POLITICAL LIFE, 1791–1837

Causes of the Rebellion of 1837.—In June, 1837, Queen Victoria ascended the throne of Great Britain. In December of the same year there was armed rebellion in her Canadian dominions. Houses were burnt. Men were killed. Canadians with bayonets hunted Canadians through burning streets, and the wounded were devoured by swine. Such was the condition to which seventy-five years of British rule had reduced that portion of Her Majesty's Dominions.

What was the matter? There were (1) grievances of one province against the other; (2) grievances common to both provinces; (3) special grievances in each.

1. **Inter-Provincial Grievances.**—There were acute differences between the two provinces as to (*a*) public funds, (*b*) public works:

(*a*) Upper Canada had no ocean port, and as trade between the provinces was free, she was unable to collect duty on goods coming in from outside, which were transhipped at Montreal. As much of the duty paid at Montreal was upon goods meant for Upper Canada, it was only fair that some portion of it should go to her. At first this was settled by Commissioners appointed by the two provinces; but later on such bitter quarrels arose that at last the British Government stepped in, and in 1822, by the Canada Trade Act, settled the amount payable to Upper Canada at one fifth and gave the Legislature of that province a share in determining the duty to be paid on the various imports.

(*b*) There were also quarrels, as we have seen, about the building of the St. Lawrence canals.

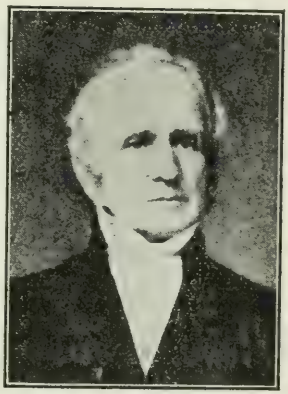
The remedies proposed for this state of affairs were a union of the provinces, unsuccessfully suggested in 1822, but carried out in 1840–41; and the extension of the boundaries of Upper Canada, so as to include therein the Island of Montreal and all the territory west thereof. This would have been foolish as it would have offended the French, and also have left the English in the Eastern Townships more in a minority than ever.

2. **Grievances Common to both Provinces.**—In each of the provinces great trouble arose from the working out of the Constitutional Act. The Governor was supposed to play the part of King. But a King has all his life been a citizen of the country which he governs, knows its politics and its prejudices, its history and its traditions. The Governor, on the other hand, was usually a soldier, with little or no knowledge of the arts by which an Assembly is controlled. His general policy was dictated to him by the British Government; in smaller matters he naturally took the advice of his Council, who were usually his intimates in private life. So completely did he fall under their control that both the Legislative and Executive Councils, nominally liable to dismissal at his recommendation, came practically to hold office for life, and even to recommend their successors. Thus the real power fell into the hands of an office-holding clique. In Upper Canada a certain amount of intermarriage and a large amount of social exclusiveness led to its being dubbed by its opponents, "The Family Compact;" in Lower Canada it had various names, such as "The Scotch Party" or "The Château Clique."

Thus the majority of the Executive Council, which we now call the Cabinet, were chosen from the Legis-

lative Council, and the minor officers from its hangers-on; for example, in 1827, seven out of the ten Executive Councillors of Lower Canada were also Legislative Councillors, and the other three were of their set. Most of the Council and of their hangers-on were also members of the Church of England, and thus to the political and social struggle an element of religious bitterness was added.

John Beverley Robinson.—But we must not be unfair to these men. They were splendidly loyal to Great Britain, and in the War of 1812–15 many of them sealed their loyalty with their blood. On the other hand, a small wing of their opponents was more or less openly disloyal, and its utterances formed admirable weapons against the real reformers. In all the provinces the leaders of this clique were men of high aims and great ability. Canada has had no more self-sacrificing or clean-minded servant than John Beverley Robinson (1791–1863), Attorney-general of Upper Canada (1818–29), and afterwards Chief-justice (1829–62). His theory was that it was unsafe to trust the government of the country to the unskilled and ill-educated rabble, much at the mercy of appeals to passion or pocket; that this was doubly dangerous when the rabble was French, as in Lower Canada, or pro-American, as in the Upper Province; that government was a matter for enlightened experts, free from the corrupting influences which press down those who have to curry favour with the vulgar. Unfortunately, political parties, like snakes,



Sir John Beverley Robinson

have tails, and in all the provinces this party tailed off into a little set whose chief motives were snobbery and jobbery.

Quarrels between Council and Assembly.—Three bad effects of this state of affairs may be noted:

(1) The Councils and the Assembly, which was supposed to represent the wishes of the people, turned aside from the work of governing and developing the new country—pressing enough in all conscience—to fight each other; not only did they neglect the carrying out of practical improvements, but in many cases Council or Assembly negatived motions proposed by the other, of which they must in their heart of hearts have approved.

(2) Altogether too much importance came to be attached to the political struggle. "Rum and politics," declared Joseph Howe, "are the curses of Nova Scotia." People neglected their farms to talk politics, secure that if they only got an Elective Council or Responsible Government, of the effects of the adoption of either of which they understood absolutely nothing, all good things would come of themselves.

(3) Neither Governor nor Council felt any responsibility to the people of the province, and so the government was feeble. A government with the people's representatives at its back can go ahead fearlessly; one which knows that the people's representatives would like to trip it up feels itself paralysed. The real criticism of the Family Compact is not that it was tyrannical, but that it was weak.

The weapon by which, in England, the representatives of the people had won control was by refusing to vote money for the carrying on of government till their grievances were redressed. This was tried once in Upper Canada, and several times in Lower Canada.

Unfortunately, the use of this weapon threw the whole country into confusion. Improvements could not be carried on, civil servants found their salaries in arrears, because the Assembly and the Council were at loggerheads. Nor was it efficacious.

The revenues of the province fell under these heads:

(*a*) Customs dues from Imperial Acts passed before 1791.

(*b*) The so-called "Casual and Territorial Revenue," that is, revenues from Crown Lands, Mines, etc.

(*c*) Revenues raised by Provincial statutes.

Of these the Governor and Council controlled the first two, and by their use and by an occasional dole or loan from the Imperial Government, the administration could be carried on, not indeed efficiently, but well enough to enable the Council to hold out against the Assembly.

3. **Special Grievances of Lower and Upper Canada.**—Let us now look at each of the provinces in turn.

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL LIFE, 1791-1837 (CONTINUED)

Lower Canada

Racial Bitterness.—In Lower Canada the Council and its supporters became more and more English, the Assembly more and more French. "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people," wrote Lord Durham. "I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state; I found a struggle not of principles, but of races; and I perceived that it would be idle to attempt any amelioration of laws or of institutions, until we could first succeed in terminating the deadly animosity that now separates the inhabitants of Lower Canada into the hostile divisions of French and English." The struggle grew worse and worse as the French realized that the gift of an Assembly had put into their hands the means of carrying on the fight against the English. Lord Durham tells us that they had at first called the Assembly "an English device to get taxes out of us." They soon found that the English device could be used to defend the cherished institutions granted them by the Quebec Act. The influence of their seigniors had steadily lessened since the attempt to call out the militia in 1775, and in the Assembly power fell into the hands of half-educated lawyers and doctors, sprung from the peasants, yet with enough education to be their leaders.

Sir James Craig.—The racial quarrel first became bitter under the Governorship of Sir James Craig, a gal-

lant but narrow-minded soldier who looked on the French in Canada as he did upon those whom he had been fighting in Europe. When criticised by the recently started newspaper, *Le Canadien*, he arrested its six editors on a charge of treason, dismissed the Assembly, and tried to get the British Government to suspend the constitution of Lower Canada. In 1811 he was recalled, after setting the little colony thoroughly by the ears.

Papineau.—During the war (1812–14) there was a lull, but the struggle of the French against the interference of the British Government and the English in the Council was renewed by the great orator, Louis Joseph Papineau. He grew more and more bitter. During the war he served as a captain, and fought well. In 1820, in a speech on the death of King George III, he contrasted the happy situation of the French under Britain with their misery under France. "Such was the situation of our fathers; behold the change. . . From that day the reign of the law succeeds to that of violence; from that day the treasures, the navy, and the armies of Great Britain are mustered to afford us an invincible protection against external danger; from that day the better part of her laws becomes ours, while our religion, property, and the laws by which they were governed, remain unaltered; soon after are granted to us the principles of its free constitution, an infallible pledge, when acted upon, of our internal prosperity. Now religious toleration, trial



Louis Joseph Papineau

by jury (that wisest of safeguards ever devised for the protection of innocence), security against arbitrary imprisonment by the privileges attached to the writ of *habeas corpus;* legal and equal security afforded to all, in their person, honour, and property; the right to obey no other laws than those of our own making and choice, expressed through our representatives; all these advantages have become our birthright, and shall, I hope, be the lasting inheritance of our posterity. To retain them, let us only act as becomes British subjects and free men." But in 1822 an attempt to unite the two provinces, and to make English the one official language did much to arouse French suspicion. The bill was withdrawn by the British Government in deference to the prejudices of the French, but the attempt to overthrow their nationality was never forgotten. Papineau gradually became an annexationist, and in 1837 he based his hopes of success on the help, official or unofficial, of the United States.

Faults of the English.—There were faults on both sides. On the whole the ruling class in Lower Canada was less honourable, had the interests of the country less at heart, than in the other provinces. Robert Christie, a member of the Legislative Assembly, does not greatly exaggerate when he writes that the affairs of the colony were "guided or misguided by a few rapacious, overbearing, and irresponsible officials, without stake or other connexion in the country than their interests. . . They wielded the powers and dispensed the patronage of government without any of its responsibility, which rested entirely upon the Governor." Thus when the Receiver-general, who held a position corresponding to our present Minister of Finance, proved to be £96,000 short in his accounts, and it was found that his swindling had been going on

for over ten years, almost all the other members of the Council tried to cover it up and to keep him unpunished.

Faults of the French.—On the other hand, the French were by no means the injured innocents represented to us by some of their historians. The Assembly opposed just laws in favour of commerce or of immigration, because they might help the English. The Custom of Paris was quite unfitted to be a commercial code, yet nothing could be done to change it. Till 1830 the Assembly refused to establish a Land Registry Office, or to give any representation to the Eastern Townships. "The notion of a speedy nationality or national existence, and independency of Great Britain, by the inhabitants of French descent in Canada, had taken possession of almost every mind. . . The native population of British descent, as well as immigrants from the United Kingdom, were held up as strangers and intruders upon the '*enfants du sol*,' whose exclusive right to the country was a doctrine currently asserted, and the expedience of superseding the British authorities by those of '*la nation Canadienne*,' and the sooner the better, boldly maintained." (Robert Christie)

At last things reached such a pass that, though one of the great grievances of the French was that all the best salaries were given to the English clique, no Frenchman could accept a position without being accused of treachery to his race. So bitter did they become that the moderate Reformers of Lower Canada, headed by Mr. John Neilson, were compelled to leave the side of the French, whom they had at first supported, and to throw in their lot with the official clique.

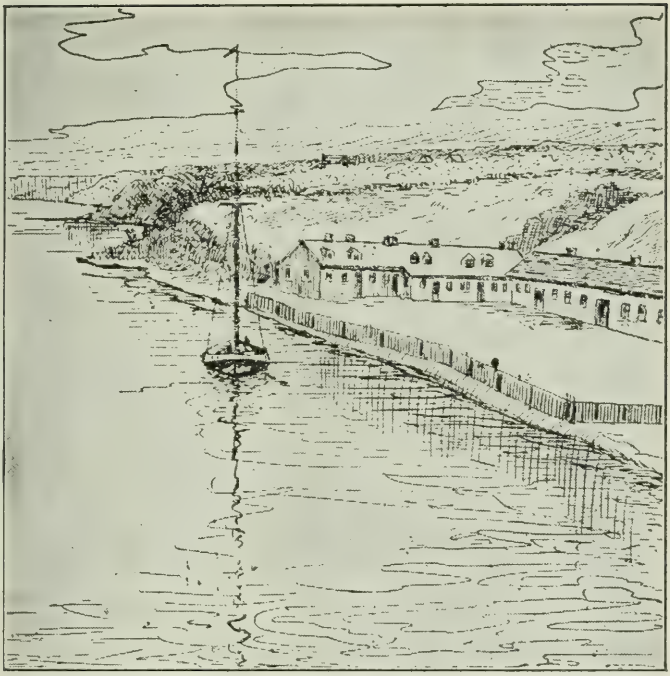
CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL LIFE, 1791–1837 (CONTINUED)

Upper Canada

Racial Bitterness.—In Upper Canada the discontent was less bitter and wide-spread. Racial distinction there was to a certain extent; the Compact plumed itself on its loyalty, and endeavoured to brand its enemies as Americans. But the distinction between American and British was less striking than that between English and French, and it was more difficult to draw a hard and fast line. Thus while in Lower Canada it was French against English, in Upper Canada and in the Maritime Provinces (in so far as it was not a struggle between the Ins and the Outs), it was one between Democracy and anti-Democracy, any attempt to criticise the Governor and Council being branded as both disloyal—that is, American, and unconstitutional—that is, democratic.

Good Laws Passed.—In Lower Canada all parties turned aside from the work of government to squabble; in Upper Canada the extremists were fewer. Between the Compact and the Radicals was the bulk of the population, good sensible farmers and traders, who did not bother about theories and asked only for reform of their grievances. These were not organized into a party, but their views were expressed by a young Methodist clergyman of Loyalist descent, Egerton Ryerson (1803–1882). In consequence, Council and Assembly, the members of both of which were after all good Canadians, often combined to pass excellent laws in



NAVY HALL, NEWARK, WHERE THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA MET IN 1792

the interest of the province. Thus in the very first Parliament which Governor Simcoe called together at Niagara in 1792, a law was passed forbidding slavery in Upper Canada. It is not probable that we should ever have had many slaves in a country with so cold a winter, but some had been brought in by the Loyalists, and this early Act shows a noble spirit of humanity. The civil law of England was introduced, education was aided, bounties were put on the heads of wolves and bears, and many other sensible Acts passed in aid of the farmer.

Greater Prosperity of United States.—But though things were not so bad in Upper as in Lower Canada, and though the discontent was therefore less widespread, from the point of view of British connection it was more dangerous. The desire for union with the United States was probably greater in Upper Canada than in any other province, owing to the more practical character of the people. On both sides of the border, the ideal, that of prosperity and progress, was the same; every traveller to North America had the same story to tell of the life and prosperity and rushing growth on one side of the line, and the listlessness and lack of energy on the other; thus a desire for American institutions grew up—that it did not grow more widely is the remarkable thing.



JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

The Family Compact.—John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, had given power into the hands of a clique of British and Loyalist officials. Though honest and industrious, and a gallant soldier, devoted to what he considered the interests of the province, he was a narrow-minded man, who believed that only a member of the Church of England could be a truly loyal subject of the King. The Compact was thus both political and social; under later Lieutenant-governors, especially Sir Peregrine Maitland, the society of Toronto was a peculiarly snobbish little set. A barrister would not shake hands with a solicitor; a militia officer, though a shopkeeper, re-

fused a challenge to a duel, because the man who brought it was a saddler. There were also annoying disabilities placed upon all Protestant ministers who were not members of the Church of England, which thus became involved in the political fight.

Bishop Strachan.—The leader of the Church in its struggle for political supremacy was John Strachan (1778–1867), Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop, of Toronto, a rough Scotchman who had come out from Aberdeen as a schoolmaster. As Bishop, he was hard-working and self-sacrificing; as teacher, he had to his credit a long line of famous pupils. He was also a very brave man. Once when cholera was raging in Toronto, when even some of the doctors had fled, John Strachan went about night and day among the sufferers, helping the sick, whispering hope to the dying. But as a politician his aim was to give his Church all the social and political privileges which it enjoyed in England. To him it was the King's Church, and only a member of it could be really loyal to the King. He refused to see that the circumstances in Canada were altogether different from those in England. There the Church comprised the vast body of the people, and especially of the educated; in Canada it was in a small minority, probably less than a quarter. Moreover, the Anglican clergy were too few to serve the scattered settlements, and when in the solemnization of matrimony, restrictions were laid upon the other denominations, it led to much practical inconvenience.

Crown Lands.—The great grievance was the reckless giving away of the Crown Lands. In Upper Canada the British method of holding land had been established by the Constitutional Act, and in the next year a general system of British law had been introduced by the Provincial Assembly. The Governor and his Council had

thus the right to grant in freehold any unoccupied lands in the province, and by 1837 over 15,000,000 acres had been thus granted without the province having very much to show for it. Peter Russell, Simcoe's successor, would, it was said, have granted land to the devil and all his friends, had they had the fees; large grants were made by the Council to themselves and to their friends, few of whom had the money with which to make improvements.

Clergy Reserves.—By the Constitutional Act, when grants of Crown Lands were made, "a portion equal to one seventh of the land so granted" was to be given to support "a Protestant Clergy." In this way there had been set aside before 1837 over 2,300,000 acres. Disputes soon arose as to whether "a Protestant Clergy" meant the Church of England, or whether other Christian bodies were entitled to a share. In 1819 the matter was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor-general of Great Britain, who decided that the words meant any Protestant church recognized by the laws of Great Britain, that is, the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, but no others. As the largest Protestant body in Ontario was the Methodist, and as there were also Baptists, American Presbyterians, and other denominations, the decision was not satisfactory. As early as 1826 the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada passed a resolution taking away the reserves from the clergy and devoting them to education and other such causes; similar measures were passed almost yearly for the next ten years, but invariably thrown out by the Council.

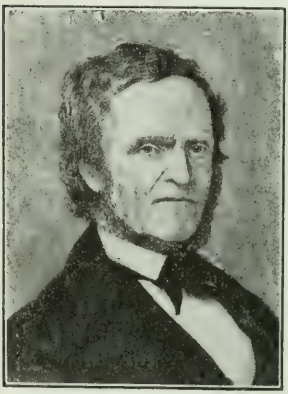
These Clergy Reserves were also a great practical nuisance. The clergy had no money to spend on their development, and let them lie waste in the hope that the growth of the surrounding country would give them value. They had been given, not in a lump, but

on the plan of one lot in seven in each township; thus between the farms of the settlers they lay untended; roads could not be built, or if built were not kept in repair. So great was the bitterness caused that many people told Lord Durham that the reserves were to blame for the Rebellion. Matters were made worse in 1835, when Sir John Colborne, the Lieutenant-governor, endowed with some specially good portions of the reserves, forty-four rectories of the Church of England in different parts of the province. To many Methodists and Presbyterians this looked as if the Church of England were to be given all the privileges in Canada which she had in England, and Colborne's act did much to increase the bitterness.

Robert Gourlay.—Against these grievances a voice was first raised by Robert Gourlay, a Scotchman, who arrived in Canada in 1817, and began to collect information for a "Statistical Account of Upper Canada." Owing to his fierce and often unfair criticisms of the Compact he was accused of sedition, acquitted, and then proceeded against under an Alien Act, which was directed against suspicious foreigners who had not taken the oath of allegiance. To call a Scotchman a foreigner was a gross abuse of language, but Gourlay was flung into prison and denied a writ of habeas corpus, till for a time he went insane. Other such examples of petty tyranny were not infrequent.

William Lyon Mackenzie.—Another Scotchman took up Gourlay's work. William Lyon Mackenzie (1795–1861), a fiery little agitator, started in 1824 a newspaper, the *Colonial Advocate*, in which he made personal attacks on the chief members of the Compact. So violent was his language that in 1825 a set of young men seized his press and threw it into Toronto Bay—a mad prank, the

only result of which was that Mackenzie got such large damages that he was able to continue in a bigger way. Three years later he was elected to the Assembly; the enraged Compact, which at the time was in the majority, expelled him from the House, and when he was re-elected, re-expelled him. Five times in all was he expelled and five times re-elected. "Never mind the laa; toorn him oot," said Dr. Strachan, in his broadest Aberdeenshire dialect, when some one pleaded that Mackenzie had done nothing unlawful. This foolish conduct of his opponents greatly increased Mackenzie's popularity, and in 1834 he was elected the first Mayor of Toronto.



WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

Responsible Government.—What were the remedies proposed for this state of affairs? In Lower Canada, and for a while in Nova Scotia, an Elective Legislative Council was advocated; in Upper Canada with greater wisdom it was seen by the Reformers that this did not go to the root of the evil, and that the remedy lay in what was called Responsible Government; that is, in the present system by which the Executive Council, now called the Cabinet, holds office only so long as it can keep a majority in the Assembly. It must be admitted, however, that the Reformers were for the most part enthusiastic rather than enlightened. Few of them thought of Responsible Government as meaning more than turning out the Compact and putting in the popular favourite of the day. This would not have improved

matters much; merely to have replaced Robinson by Mackenzie would have been a poor exchange. It was the main function of Lord Durham and of Lord Sydenham to show what Responsible Government really meant.

Help Given to Us by Great Britain.—Yet against the jobbery of the Compact and the stupidity of the Colonial Office, there is much to set. If the leaders of the Compact were over-generous in granting the lands of the province to their friends, they were loyal to Great Britain in days when union with the United States would have doubled the value of their possessions. If the Colonial Office sent inefficient governors, it also protected us and gave us the chance of becoming a nation. Blood and treasure were poured out freely in our defence. Over $35,000,000 were spent on the fortifications of Quebec alone (1825–1832); the Rideau Canal was constructed and many other works were aided by the British Government. Our products were given a large preference in the British market.

CHAPTER XIX

THE REBELLION: LORD DURHAM

Rebellion in Lower Canada.—At last in both provinces the discontent flared up into rebellion. By refusing supplies, and throwing everything into confusion, Lower Canada forced the British Government to send out a Commission of Inquiry, with Lord Gosford, a genial Irishman of no great ability, as Chief Commissioner and Governor. This Commission reported that neither an Elective Council nor Responsible Government could be granted, and early in 1837 Lord John Russell, the leader of the British House of Commons, announced to Parliament that the Government agreed with the report. The Governor was instructed to take money from the provincial treasury, with or without the consent of Parliament, and to pay all arrears. Great was the excitement of the French; societies called "Sons of Liberty" were everywhere organized, though most of them were not so much rebellious at heart as drunk with the wild words of Papineau. Much now depended upon the attitude of the clergy, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Montreal promptly issued a *mandement* to be read in all the churches, calling on every good Roman Catholic to condemn the proposed rebellion. Though the country was rife with discontent, this loyalty of the Bishops kept most of the *habitants* from open revolt.

Colborne Crushes the Rebels.—Sir John Colborne had been recalled from the Governorship of Upper Canada, but just as he was sailing from New York for England, had been sent back as Commander-in-chief;

DECLARATION.

WHEREAS the solemn covenant made with the people of Lower and Upper Canada, and recorded in the Statue Book of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as the 31st Chapter of the Act passed in the 31st year of the Reign of King George III, hath been continually violated by the British Government, and our rights usurped; and whereas our humble petitions, addresses, protests and remonstrances against this injurious and unconstitutional interference have been made in vain, that the British Government hath disposed of our revenue without the constitutional consent of the Local Legislature, pillaged our Treasury, arrested great numbers of our citizens, and committed them to prison, distributed through the country a mercenary army, whose presence is accompanied by consternation and alarm, whose track is red with the blood of our people, who have laid our villages in ashes profaned our Temples, and spread terror and waste through the land: And whereas we can no longer suffer the repeated violations of our dearest rights, and patiently support the multiplied outrages and cruelties of the Government of Lower Canada, WE, in the name of the PEOPLE OF LOWER CANADA, acknowledging the decrees of a divine providence which permits us to put down a Government which hath abused the object and intention for which it was created, and to make choice of that form of Government which shall reestablish the empire of Justice, assure domestic tranquility, provide for common defence, promote general good, and secure to us and our posterity the advantage of civil and religious liberty.

SOLEMNLY DECLARE;

1. That from this day forward, the PEOPLE OF LOWER CANADA are absolved from all allegiance to Great Britain, and that the political connexion between that power and Lower Canada is now dissolved.
2. That a *REPUBLICAN* form of Government is best suited to Lower Canada, which is this day declared to be *A REPUBLIC*.
3. That under the Free Government of Lower Canada, all persons shall enjoy the same rights; the Indians shall no longer be under any civil disqualification, but shall enjoy the same rights as all other citizens of Lower Canada.
4. That all union between Church and State is hereby declared to be *DISSOLVED*, and every person shall be at liberty freely to exercise such religion or belief as shall be dictated to him by his conscience.
5. That the Feudal or Seigniorial tenure of land is hereby abolished as completely as if such tenure had never existed in Canada.
6. That each and every person who shall bear arms, or otherwise furnish assistance to the people of Canada in this contest for emancipation, shall be, and is, discharged from all debts due, or obligations remaining unpaid, for arrearages in virtue of Seigniorial rights heretofore existing.
7. That the *Ignoble Coutumier* is for the future abolished and prohibited.
8. That imprisonment for debt shall no longer exist, excepting in such cases of fraud as shall be specified in an act to be passed hereafter by the Legislature of Lower Canada for this purpose.
9. That sentence of Death shall no longer be passed nor executed, except in case of murder.
10. That mortgages on landed estate shall be special, and to be valid, shall be duly registered in offices to be created for this purpose by an act of the Legislature of Lower Canada.
11. That the liberty and freedom of the Press do exist in all public matters and affairs.
12. That TRIAL BY JURY is guaranteed to the people of Lower Canada in its most extended and liberal sense, in all criminal suits, and in civil suits above a sum to be fixed by the Legislature of the State of LOWER CANADA.
13. That as General and public Education is necessary, and due by the Government to the people, suitable provide for the same shall be passed as soon as the circumstances of the country will permit.
14. That to secure the elective franchise, all elections shall be had *BY BALLOT*.
15. That with the least possible delay the people shall choose Delegates according to the present division of the country, into Counties, Towns and Boroughs, who shall constitute a Convention, or Legislative Body, to establish a Constitution according to the wants of the country, and in conformity with the disposition of this Declaration, subject to be modified according to the will of the people.

DECLARATION OF THE REBELS IN 1838, DECLARING LOWER CANADA A REPUBLIC

the presence of this old Waterloo hero meant more than a thousand men. Papineau was arrested, but escaped, and early in December, 1837, a number of insurgents gathered at St. Denis and St. Charles on the Richelieu River. At St. Denis, under Dr. Wolfred Nelson, they made a successful resistance from behind the walls of a distillery; but at St. Charles they were defeated, and on hearing the news the force at St. Denis scattered, and Nelson was captured. Papineau, who had no stomach for fighting, fled to the United States. At St. Eustache a desperate band gathered under Dr. Chénier, a gallant hot-head, but were dispersed by Colborne, and their leader killed. The rebellion in Lower Canada was at an end, though on the following days many farmhouses were burned, and in some cases plundered, by the victorious troops.

Rebellion in Upper Canada.—In Upper Canada Colborne had been succeeded as Lieutenant-governor by Sir Francis Bond Head, who had won fame by his travels in South America, but who knew nothing either of Canada or of politics. He began by taking into his Cabinet three of the Reform leaders, Robert Baldwin, Dr. John Rolph, and J. H. Dunn, but gave them no power, and after three weeks they resigned. The Assembly, in which the Reformers were in the majority, refused to grant supplies; but at the general election which followed (1836), Sir Francis threw all his influence on the side of the Compact and swept the province. In this he was greatly helped by Egerton Ryerson and the "Moderates," who had been alarmed by Mackenzie's vapouring about independence. Mackenzie lost his seat in Toronto, and in desperation turned to thoughts of rebellion. Head, who knew that the mass of the people were loyal, sent all the regulars in the province to the help of Colborne, and trusted to the militia.

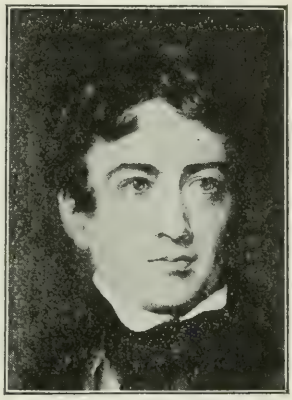
Defeat of Mackenzie.—Early in December, 1837, Mackenzie gathered at Montgomery's Tavern, a little north of Toronto, about a thousand half-armed men. For a moment the city was in danger; but Mackenzie had no military skill, and from all over the province recruits came pouring in to the rescue. Thousands took up arms who had no sympathy with the Compact; they would right their grievances when the opportunity came; in the meantime they would give short shrift to rebels. On December 7th, the loyal troops under Colonel Fitzgibbon, the hero of Beaver Dams, advanced against the rebels, killed one, and dispersed the others. Mackenzie escaped in woman's clothes to the United States, gathered together a band of ruffians in Buffalo and the other American towns along the border, established himself with these and a few Canadians on Navy Island in the Niagara River, and set up a so-called "provisional government." They were supplied with provisions by the American steamer *Caroline*; but in the night of January 29th, 1838, a band of volunteers under Captain Drew rowed across, captured the *Caroline*, set her on fire, and sent her blazing over the Falls. It was a brave deed, but we cannot wonder at the anger of the United States. An American steamer had been captured and burned while lying under the guns of an American fort, and in the capture an American citizen had been killed. There was talk of war, but the British Governor backed up Canada strongly; the Americans came to see that they had been in the wrong in letting Mackenzie collect his ruffians in Buffalo, and in allowing the *Caroline* to provision them, and the quarrel blew over. Mackenzie retired to the United States, where for some years he lived in great poverty. During 1838–9 bands of American filibusters, usually belonging to secret societies, known as "Hunter's Lodges," kept crossing the frontier and attacking Canada.

Of these attacks the most celebrated was that made on Prescott in November, 1838, by a Polish exile, Von Schultz, a generous but misguided man, who really felt that he was trying to rescue us from the same tyranny as his own country had suffered from Russia. Crossing over from Ogdensburg he established himself with about 100 followers, in an old stone mill. Some 500 or 600 others endeavoured to join him, but were beaten off by three armed British schooners. The mill was soon captured, and Von Schultz and nine companions were hanged on the Fort Hill at Kingston. One of the lawyers for the defence was a young man named John Alexander Macdonald, of whom we shall hear again. Later in the year an attack was made on Sandwich, and a British officer foully murdered and mutilated. The invaders were driven off, and four of the murderers were shot without trial. "I ordered them to be shot, which was done accordingly," wrote Colonel Prince, the commander of the Canadian militia.

Lount and Matthews.—In both Upper and Lower Canada the rebellion roused feeling to fever heat, and very stern reprisals were wreaked by Canadians on Canadians. Sir John Colborne, a grim veteran who had seen wild work in the Peninsula, tried to moderate the anger of the victors in Lower Canada; on the other hand, Sir George Arthur, who had succeeded Head in Upper Canada, and who had formerly governed by the lash in the convict settlement of Tasmania, did nothing to check the cry for blood. Eventually in Upper Canada, Samuel Lount, Mackenzie's second-in-command, and Peter Matthews, perished on the scaffold; both were brave men, worthy of a better fate.

Lord Durham.—The Rebellion had at least the merit of waking up the British Government, which now sent out as Governor-general Lord Durham, with very large

powers. In great things and in small Durham may be compared to the elder Pitt. Pitt's last word to his countrymen was a call to preserve the Empire "as great in extent as unsullied in reputation," to unite the colonies to the motherland in a great Imperial Union; the same, as we shall see, was the message of Durham. Both came of old families, and were the first of their race to rise to the House of Lords. Both were heroic invalids, and the irritability of the sick man often swelled their natural pride. Yet just as the pomposity of Pitt was in large part due to the desire to hold himself above the petty party struggles of his time, so Durham's undoubted rudeness to the social leaders at Quebec came from his resolve to make up his mind for himself. We read laughable stories of his striding in to his receptions, gloves flung to one aide-de-camp, cloak to another, a haughty word and a turned back alone vouchsafed to some polite old toady who came smiling up. Politeness is usually a virtue; but had we not had enough and to spare of the Governors whose politeness only brought them under the sway of the ruling clique?



LORD DURHAM

Career and Resignation of Lord Durham.—Durham landed in May, 1838, to find the jails full of prisoners, whom in the circumstances it was hopeless to try; a French jury would have acquitted them all, an English jury hanged them all, and a mixed jury disagreed. Durham issued an ordinance condemning to death should

they return, Papineau, Wolfred Nelson, and fourteen others who had fled to the United States; eight more he induced to plead guilty, and by a special Ordinance transported them to Bermuda; the rest were liberated. Now as Lord Durham had no power whatever over Bermuda, he undoubtedly went beyond his authority; but as he had been sent out to settle a very difficult situation, and had done so without shedding of blood, the British Government should at once have passed a law ratifying his action. But Durham's haughty temper had made him many enemies; he was attacked in the House of Lords, and the weak Government, in fear of being defeated, disallowed his Ordinance. Not only so, but through their slowness in notifying him, the first Durham heard of it was from an American paper. He at once resigned, and on November 1st sailed for England. In February, 1839, he presented to Her Majesty his famous Report, but his health had been broken by the attacks of his enemies, and on July 28th, 1840, he died.

His Greatness.—But if Durham spoiled his career, he made his fame. The importance of the great Report can hardly be exaggerated. Had it not been for him, the moment might have passed without the man; it was the supreme good fortune of Canada and of Greater Britain that the hour and the man coincided. As Durham lay dying at Cowes, he whispered: "I would fain hope I have not lived altogether in vain; whatever my enemies may say, the Canadians will some day do justice to my memory." That justice has been done. If to the world beyond can come tidings of what is thought and felt in this, surely his great and greatly injured shade is now appeased. If, as the great Greek statesman said, all earth and sea are the grave of those who fall for their country, then a loyal and contented Canada is the monument to Durham; and what man could desire a nobler!

Empire and Liberty.—And perhaps not Canada alone is his monument, but Australia and New Zealand and a United South Africa, all of which won their freedom as a result of the great movement to which Durham gave so clear expression. Never forget that though much of this history is the record of the little wisdom with which this world is governed, though one laughs at the many blunders of Englishman and Canadian alike, yet slowly, imperfectly, for the most part unconsciously, we have been working out a big thing. Will the British Empire endure? Only if its various parts work toward some combination of Empire and Liberty along the lines which Durham laid down—the lines of freedom and yet of union.

Merits of the Report.—What then are the merits of the great Report?

1. Its authorship. The grievances of the Canadians are analysed, the cure is stated, not by a Canadian, not by some wandering journalist, but by a British statesman of the first rank, sent out under circumstances which gave him an additional importance. The hardest-hearted official could not now pass by on the other side.

2. Its comprehensiveness. It gathered into one all the main points, and gave the reformers something definite to work for.

3. Its glowing praise of Canada. It is easy to praise Canada now; it was not so in Durham's day. Few then thought that we were destined to anything great; to Durham was vouchsafed a nobler vision; and it is good to think that on his death-bed he saw it, and was glad.

4. The ardour of its Imperialism. In their disgust at the stupidity of the colonial policy of the day, many of Durham's party lost hope, and looked on the colonies as millstones round the neck of England. Here Durham

split off from them, just as Chatham had split off from those who wished to give independence to the Americans. Give the colonies their freedom, he said, and you will only bind them the closer. He knew that with "the patient and fervent attachment which Your Majesty's English subjects in all these provinces still feel to their mother country," liberty binds; it does not separate.

Its Proposals.—What remedies did Durham propose for the evils which we have described?

1. **Extinction of French Nationality.**—The first was that the French Canadian language and customs must be extinguished by being ringed round with a circle of English-speaking majorities. In the great nation which rose up in Canada before the eyes of Durham there was room but for one ideal, and that ideal was British, or at least British-American. God had given the North American Continent as the ample appanage of the British race; from Alaska to the Gulf of Mexico that race was fated to bear rule; fragments of other nationalities had no place in such an ideal.

2. **Union of the Two Provinces.**—The two provinces must be united in order to swamp the French. But will not Lower Canada still outnumber the Upper Province? it was said. No, replied Durham; the English in Upper Canada and in the Eastern Townships will unite and from the first outnumber the French; immigration will flow in, and make the difference daily greater; and a wider union of all British North America must be kept in mind.

3. **An Intercolonial Railway.**—This wider union was at the time impossible; communication between even Upper and Lower Canada was so slow that John Beverley Robinson urged this as sufficient reason against their union. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were altogether too far away. Durham therefore advised

improvement of the canals, and the building of the Intercolonial Railway. "The formation of a railroad from Halifax to Quebec would entirely alter some of the distinguishing characteristics of the Canadas."

4. **Responsible Government.**—In the united province, responsible government must be introduced—that is, the Cabinet must be made responsible to the majority in the elected house. But if the Cabinet is to have any permanence, it must have a more or less permanent majority; there must be more or less coherent parties, with more or less coherent policies, and this had not hitherto been the case in Canada.

Again, if the government is to last, all members of the Cabinet must be, in public at least, of one mind. In the words of an English Prime Minister: "It doesn't so much matter what we say, but we must all say the same thing." But while the ministers must be agreed on their general principles, they must each be at the head of a definite department, which, extraordinary to say, had not so far been the case.

Moreover, if the members of the Cabinet are to be the leaders of the party in power, and to carry out coherent principles, they must have the sole power of proposing grants of money. Hitherto any member had had the right of proposing any grant of money which he saw fit, and this had led to great waste and extravagance.

Further, in order to maintain popular control, proposals for granting money must be introduced first in the Assembly.

5. **Municipal Government.**—A system of municipal government must be set up, with local taxation for local objects, as a further safeguard against the extravagance of the Legislature, and as a school for statesmen.

Objections to the Report.—As we now have all, and more than all the freedom which Lord Durham advocated, it is hard for us to realize how outrageous his plans seemed even to liberal-minded Englishmen like Lord John Russell, and intelligent Canadians like John Beverley Robinson. Their objection took the form of a dilemma. To whom, they asked, is the Governor of a colony to be responsible? If to the British Government, then he cannot be responsible to his colonial ministers; if to his colonial ministers, then you have an independent country, and the Empire is broken up.

Limitations to Responsible Government.—Durham's answer was that full and complete responsible government did mean independence; but that the colony should have complete control of her own local affairs, and the mother country should interfere only in matters of Imperial importance. Of these Durham mentioned: (*a*) The regulation of our form of government—that is, if Canada endeavoured to form herself into a republic, Great Britain would have to interfere; (*b*) the regulation of our foreign relations—it would not do to have Canada make her own independent alliances; (*c*) the control of trade; (*d*) the control of public lands. In this Durham was influenced by a friend who came out with him, Edward Gibbon Wakefield by name, who held that, by a wise use of the unoccupied lands in the colonies, emigration from the mother country could be encouraged, and the poor and destitute of Great Britain made the strong and useful citizens of new Britains across the sea. So strongly had this view taken possession of Durham that he advised it in his Report, though it now seems to us inconsistent with his general theory.

Since Durham's time we have outgrown some of the restrictions which he thought advisable. We con-

trol our own public lands; we encourage or discourage trade as we see fit; we are beginning to have a voice in our foreign relations. But we can never outgrow the main principles which Durham laid down.

CHAPTER XX

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Lord Sydenham.—Such then was the remedy proposed by Lord Durham; the problem remained of getting the patient to take it. With this object in view, the Colonial Office sent out as Governor-general Mr. Charles Poulett Thomson, at that time member of the British Parliament for Manchester. Thomson, who in 1840 was raised to the peerage as Baron Sydenham of Sydenham in Kent and Toronto,* came of a family which had been in the Baltic timber trade for over a century. He was a shrewd business man with much charm of manner, and accustomed to society. His business interests, his social vivacity, and his political training fitted him for the task of putting the new régime into operation. Unlike Lord Durham, he was splendidly backed up by the British Government, and especially by Lord John Russell, of whom Sydenham on his death-bed spoke as "the noblest man I have ever known."

1. **Union of Upper and Lower Canada.**—One of Lord Durham's recommendations had been a union of Upper and Lower Canada, and in 1839 a Bill for this purpose was drawn up by Thomson, with the assistance of Sir James Stuart, Chief-justice of Lower Canada, and son of the first Protestant minister in Upper Canada. To the union the French were strongly opposed, but owing to the rebellion their Assembly had been

*He would have preferred the title of Lord St. Lawrence, but this was refused him.

suspended, and the Council, which was largely composed of English, voted approval. In Upper Canada the Compact, who dreaded the loss of their power, were at first against it, but their loyalty to the wishes of Great Britain soon brought many of them round; a despatch from Lord John Russell, warning office-holders that Sydenham had power to dismiss them, did much to frighten the remainder. The moderate men were in its favour, for Upper Canada was almost bankrupt and needed the financial aid of the Lower Province. In 1840 the bill was passed through the British Parliament; on February 10th, 1841, the anniversary of the cession of Canada to Great Britain, it came into force; on June 14th, 1841, the first Parliament of United Canada met at Kingston.

(*a*) By the Act of Union there was to be a House of Assembly, with an equal representation of forty-two* members from each province, in spite of the larger population of Lower Canada. This was done on the plea of Upper Canada that the British element must be in the majority. In so doing her people showed less faith in their province than did Lord Durham, who in his Report had urged them to accept representation by population, knowing that in a few years immigration would give them a majority, without any such trick as that which was now played.

(*b*) The Legislative Council was to consist of at least twenty members appointed for life. In 1854 the British Government granted leave to the Canadian House to change this system, and in 1856 appointments to the Upper House were made elective.

(*c*) Though either language might be used in debate, all government papers and official reports of the

* In 1853 this was changed to sixty-five.

proceedings were to be in English alone. If this rule was made with the idea of lessening the use of the French language, it came to nothing; for, from the first, French copies of all papers and proceedings were circulated at the Government's expense. Even so the plan angered the French; at the end of 1844, in order to win French votes, the Canadian Parliament petitioned the British Government to put both languages on an equality, and in 1848 this was done.

2. **Union of British North America.**— Another of Lord Durham's ideas had been the union of British North America. About this nothing formal was done, but the unwearied activity of Lord Sydenham made his presence felt from Lake Huron to the Atlantic; he even found time to go down to Halifax and settle differences which had arisen in Nova Scotia between the Lieutenant-governor and the Assembly.

3. **Transportation, etc.**—Many practical reforms were begun; education was aided; an Imperial loan of $7,500,000 was obtained and the money expended on canals on the St. Lawrence, the Niagara, and the Ottawa, and on roads and lighthouses. Immigration was encouraged, and the number of immigrants rose from 3,000 in 1838 to over 28,000 in 1841, and over 44,000 in 1842.

4. **Responsible Government.**—No definite promise of responsible government was made, but by his skill and tact Sydenham succeeded in carrying on a government which without conceding the principle gave satisfaction to the majority.

By the Act of Union control of all the provincial revenue, including the "casual and territorial," was given to the Provincial Legislature; in return the Legislature was bound to grant "an adequate civil list," that is, to set aside a sum sufficient to pay the salaries

of the judges and other civil servants, who were thus rendered independent of the whim of the representatives.

While not conceding definite responsible government, Sydenham made preparations for its introduction by building up in the House a coherent party and a coherent administration, without which responsible government is impossible. Sydenham found the country "split into factions animated with the most deadly hatred to each other." "The Assembly is such a House," he wrote, "split into half a dozen different parties, the government having none and no one man to depend on. Think of a House where there is no one to defend the government when attacked or to state the opinion and views of the Governor."

The Cabinet.—His most difficult task was to form a Cabinet in which, while each member looked after a department, all were bound together to carry out a common policy, and which would go out of office if defeated on a question of principle. In doing this, Sydenham was forced to become the real head of the Government, and though he could not appear in the House, the ministers were little better than his puppets. Gradually he got his Cabinet into working order. He managed, cajoled, bullied, bribed; did all that a Prime Minister can do; kept a majority in the House; and pushed through his practical reforms. At the end of two years he was able to write to Lord John Russell that "the task which by Her Majesty's commands I undertook two years ago is entirely completed, and I have the satisfaction of feeling assured that the great objects of my mission are answered. The union of the two Canadas is fully perfected, and the measures incidental to that great change have been successfully carried into effect. Effective departments for every

branch of the public service in this province have been constituted, and the future harmonious working of the constitution is, I have every reason to believe, secured."

5. **Municipal Government.**—In both parts of the province he introduced a system of municipal government. Under French rule and under the early British governors all government in Canada had been carried on by the central authority. With the coming of the Loyalists, who had been accustomed to control their own local affairs in town meetings, municipal government would naturally have been introduced; but both the British Government and the ruling Canadian cliques disliked municipal government, thinking "that it tended to democracy." Thus though townships were laid out it was only as a convenient way of granting land; they had no power of self-government. The result of this was in many ways bad. Lack of municipal government made the streets of the towns a disgrace; the people had no little councils in which to train their politicians; worst of all they learned to look entirely to Parliament for assistance, and to consider the most successful member of Parliament the one who could grab the most for his constituency. Such municipal regulation as existed was done by the magistrates, or justices of the peace, who were appointed by Parliament. The roads were looked after (*a*) by the justices of the peace, (*b*) by commissioners appointed by the province, who spent the provincial subsidies, (*c*) by joint-stock companies who built roads and repaid themselves by charging tolls.

In Upper Canada.—Gradually things improved. In 1832 and 1833 Brockville and Hamilton obtained certain powers of self-government; in 1834 York was incorporated, and its name changed to Toronto. But

till the coming of Lord Sydenham the country districts had practically no powers. In 1841 he succeeded in passing the District Councils Act by which all rural municipalities were governed by a warden and council—the warden appointed by the Crown and having certain rights of appointment of the officials under him, the council elected by the people.

In Lower Canada.—Two years previously he had introduced the same system into Lower Canada by an Ordinance of the Council. The French in the country districts were at first very doubtful about this blessing, and sighed for the untaxed days when they had lived upon legislative grants; but they soon came to see its advantages, and the system has been improved and brought up to date by a series of laws giving the parishes much the same powers as the townships in Upper Canada, and grouping them into counties in much the same way.

Death of Sydenham.—The system of government introduced by Sydenham was obviously a compromise. Canada wanted a leader and definite practical improvements. These Sydenham gave, but now that the Assembly had got the ministers under its control, how long would it consent to be led by the Governor? So good a judge as Sir John Macdonald once said that the triumph of Lord Sydenham would have been short-lived. It is certain that the Governor could not permanently have controlled the Assembly; already an opposition was growing up, based on dislike of Sydenham's autocracy, and on the claims of the French to office; would Sydenham have been wise enough to see this, as Lord Elgin afterwards did, and to change his plan? We cannot say. After two years of work for Canada, Sydenham died in her service. Riding home one evening he was thrown from his horse, and

his leg broken. After some days of suffering he died on September 19th, 1841.

Baldwin and Lafontaine.—The opposition was led by Mr. Robert Baldwin, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Louis Lafontaine, two of the wisest statesmen whom Canada has seen. Baldwin was a devoted member of the Church of England, and most of his relatives belonged to the Compact; yet he had for years urged responsible government so strongly that he was known as "the man of one idea." He was loyal to the heart's core, and refused to countenance Mackenzie's wild work; Lord Elgin afterwards said that his presence in Canada was worth more to the cause of British connection than three regiments of infantry. He had the wisdom to see that Canada could rise to greatness only if French and English understood each other. In 1841 Lafontaine was defeated in Lower Canada; Baldwin had been returned for two Upper Canadian constituencies; he at once resigned in the county of York, and the people elected Lafontaine; in the autumn of 1842 Baldwin in his turn was defeated, and the chivalrous French of Rimouski, not to be outdone in generosity, elected Baldwin by acclamation. Later on, when responsible government had been won, he gave all his energies to improving our municipal system. His name will ever be associated with the attainment of responsible government, municipal reform, and a good understanding with the French; but most of all he will be remembered as the man who through the bitterest party fighting kept his honour unstained; the fiercest opponent never ventured to smirch the personal or political purity of Robert Baldwin.

Lafontaine had sympathized with the rebels of 1837, and had been imprisoned in 1838; but he now saw that his province must join with the English to bring

about needed reform, that Lower Canadians could not go on for ever planting their cabbages and letting the modern world of business and of enterprise go by them; they must come out and play their part on a broader stage.

Sir Charles Bagot.—Under Sydenham's successor, Sir Charles Bagot, the Reformers became so strong in Parliament that Baldwin and Lafontaine had to be taken into the Cabinet (1842). The British Government and especially the Duke of Wellington were furious at what they thought Bagot's weakness in admitting the French, but felt that in the circumstances nothing could be done.

Lord Metcalfe.—Bagot died in 1843 and was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe, a man of great ability and high honour, who had been a successful Administrator in India and afterwards Governor of Jamaica. Under him came the struggle which Sydenham had escaped by death, and Bagot by giving way. Metcalfe insisted on making his own appointments, and in November, 1843, when he appointed a gentleman to a position which Baldwin had promised to a friend of his own, the ministry resigned. Metcalfe's view was that he could never "be a mere tool in the hands of the Council," that patronage must not be used for party purposes, but should be "distributed to reward merit, to meet just claims, and to promote the efficiency of the public service." While he believed in consulting on every important matter with his ministers and giving them in every way his cordial co-operation and sympathy, he was resolute that, in the last resort, he and not they should rule. On the resignation of the ministry he proved unable to get together a new one, and for nine months governed the country himself with two or three assistants. Eventually in September, 1844, he got together

a ministry, which appealed to the country and, after a furious election in which the Governor was compelled to take the stump, won by a narrow majority. But the new ministry was supported only by personal respect for Metcalfe himself; the King's representative had gone down into the mud and dirt of the party fight; such a system of government was impossible.

Lord Elgin and the Rebellion Losses Bill.—Early in 1846 Sir Charles, who in the previous year had been raised to the peerage as Lord Metcalfe, died of cancer of the face, and in 1847 there came out to succeed him Lord Elgin, the son-in-law of Lord Durham, young and yet wise, enthusiastic and yet sane, resolute and yet tactful, determined to carry out to the full the views of his father-in-law. In the election of 1848 the Reformers swept the country in both Upper and Lower Canada, and a ministry was formed under Baldwin and Lafontaine. Among the Lower Canadian supporters of this ministry were many who had sympathized with Papineau, and in 1849 a bill was passed for indemnifying those who had suffered through the rebellion, which was so worded that it would evidently give government money to many who had been rebels in thought and word, if not actually in deed. Elgin, however, felt that the principle of yielding in all local affairs to the will of the majority must be carried out, and gave his assent. So furious was the opposition that rioting broke out in Montreal, which in 1844 had been chosen as capital instead of Kingston; Parliament House was set on fire and burned to the ground; the Governor-general was pelted with stones and rotten eggs; but he held fast to his principles, and the fight for responsible government was won when Lord Elgin gave his assent to the "Rebellion Losses Bill."

Reduced Power of the Governor.—From that time on the direct political influence of the Governor-general has been less and less. He still has nominally the power of granting or refusing to the Prime Minister the right to dissolve Parliament, and to hold a general election. In 1858 Sir Edmund Head refused this permission to George Brown, then Prime Minister, but though his action was undoubtedly correct, so bitter was the criticism that no Governor is likely to do it again, and under both Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier Parliament was dissolved whenever the Prime Minister saw fit. Up till 1875 his instructions from the Colonial Office allowed him, in spite of the unanimous opinion of his Canadian ministers, "to execute the powers and authorities vested in you . . . in opposition to such their opinion," but in that year the Canadian Minister of Justice, Mr. Edward Blake, protested against this, and the instructions were at once changed. In 1878 the power of pardoning prisoners was taken from him, and from that date on we may say that the Governor-general, like the Sovereign of England, acts only on the advice of his ministers.

CHAPTER XXI

BOUNDARY DISPUTES

I. The North-east Boundary

The North-west Angle of Nova Scotia.—In the early years of the new system two disputes with the United States were cleared up, which had brought the two countries to the verge of war. When in 1783 the United States attained its independence, its north-east boundary was described in the treaty as running "from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz., that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix River to the Highlands; along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut River."

The St. Croix.—Almost every word of this became the subject of dispute. There was no river named the St. Croix, and the two countries could not agree which existing river had been meant in the old charters which spoke of it. Commissioners were appointed to decide, and these in 1798 found on Dochet Island, at the mouth of the River Schoodic, De Monts' early fortifications. This proved the Schoodic to be the St. Croix, and the British claim to that effect was allowed by the Americans. Two rivers joined to form the Schoodic, and after some dispute Great Britain allowed the branch claimed by the Americans to be chosen, as it gave the longer natural boundary.

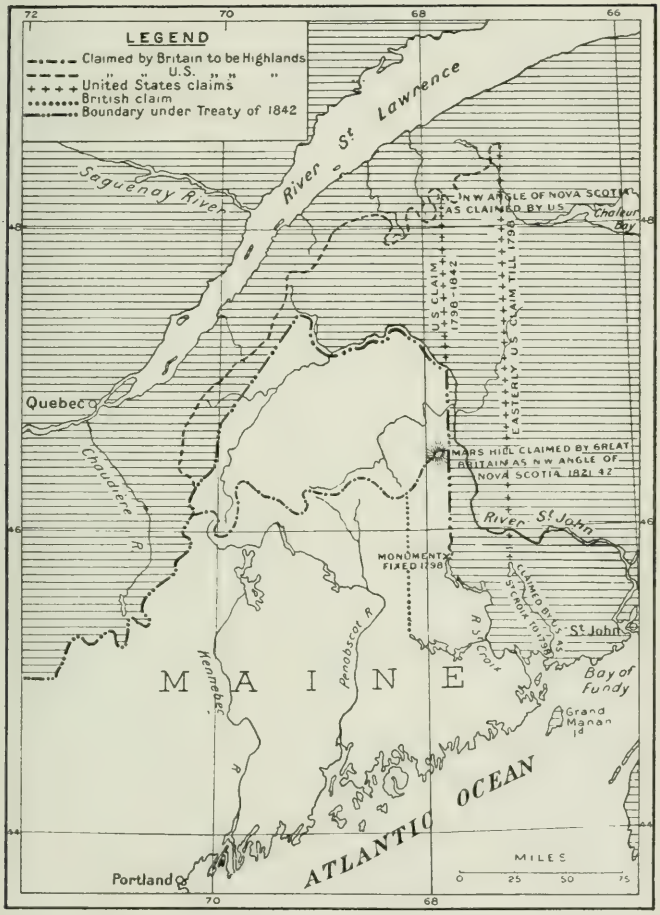
Grand Manan.—The next dispute was about the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, to all of which Great Britain had a good claim, and about Grand Manan, in the Bay of Fundy, to which she had hardly any claim at all; eventually there was a compromise, by which the United States got three small islands in the Bay, and Great Britain all the rest, including Grand Manan, which, both strategically and from its value as a fishing station, was by far the most important.

From the St. Lawrence to the Rockies.—By the treaty of 1783 the boundary, after reaching the Connecticut River, descended it to the forty-fifth parallel, ran along this to the St. Lawrence, followed the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes to a point on Lake Superior, thence along a tangle of lakes and rivers to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, and thence "on a due west course to the River Mississippi," which at that time was thought to rise much farther north than was afterwards found to be the case.

In 1803 the United States bought from Napoleon the vast western region known as Louisiana, extending from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and north to Rupert's Land. After much negotiating, in 1818 Great Britain and the United States agreed that, from the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, the boundary should run along the forty-ninth parallel to the Rocky Mountains. This satisfied the fur-trading companies, whose interests were the only ones which at this time British subjects had in the west. Beyond the Rockies lay a disputed territory, before speaking of which we must turn back for a moment.

New Brunswick vs. Maine.—During the war of 1812, when the St. Lawrence was closed by winter, Great Britain had marched troops from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to Canada; it was thus very important to

have a direct road between the two. Unfortunately, the American state of Maine cut in between. Till 1763 it had been to the advantage of Great Britain to push as far north as possible the boundary of Maine, which was then her colony, and to leave as little as possible to Canada, which was then French. Between 1763 and 1783 the whole territory had been British, and the boundary had been several times defined, not only in a Royal Proclamation of 1763, but also in instructions to the Governor of Nova Scotia, which then included New Brunswick, and it was in the terms of these instructions and of the Royal Proclamation that in the treaty of 1783 the boundary was described in the words quoted above. Their meaning evidently was that the valley of the St. Lawrence was to go to Canada, to whom by every right it belonged; the remainder of the territory was to be part either of Maine or of Nova Scotia (which till 1784 included New Brunswick); the boundary between these two was to be a due north line from the source of the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence watershed. This is the boundary given on all maps of the territory from 1763 to 1783. But after the war of 1812 Great Britain found that such a boundary made the state of Maine jut up like a great wedge between New Brunswick and Lower Canada, and she set to work to see if a more favourable boundary could not be found, answering, not to the meaning of the treaty, which was clear, but to its wording. Her lawyers put the emphasis on the word "Highlands," and claimed that it must mean a range of hills; her surveyors found that where the due north line struck the watershed of the St. Lawrence, there was not a "Highland," but a marshy plateau; she therefore claimed that as the treaty said "Highlands," it could not have meant a marsh, and that the boundary must run westward to the Connecticut River along the most prominent line of hills in the disputed territory;



MAINE BOUNDARY DISPUTE

that is, it should start at a point known as Mars Hill, about 100 miles south of the St. Lawrence watershed. Surely we can see that this was only clever twisting of words, and that the Americans were right in claiming that the word "Highlands" must be taken in connection with the words "which divide those rivers which flow into the River St. Lawrence," and that the watershed was meant. Three Commissions tried at different times to settle the boundary, but neither side would give in; at last the matter was referred for arbitration to the King of the Netherlands, and in 1831 that monarch, who was greatly in fear of England, decided on a compromise line. The United States ungraciously refused to accept the award.

The Aroostook War.—By this time the disputed territory was filling up with lumbermen, who did not know to which court to take their disputes. In 1838–9 a quarrel between lumber-jacks grew into the so-called "Aroostook War;" the legislatures of Maine and of New Brunswick sent their militia to the frontier, and voted large war credits. Great as was the disparity of force, the Maritime Provinces showed no fear. The legislature of Nova Scotia, on hearing of the quarrel, rose as one man to their feet, sang "God Save the Queen," and put every man and every dollar in the province at the service of New Brunswick. Luckily it did not come to a fight. The generals on both sides, Sir John Harvey and Winfield Scott, veterans of 1812, showed moderation and good sense, and arranged for a joint occupation.

The Ashburton Treaty, 1842.—Finally in 1842 Mr. Daniel Webster, the American Secretary of State, and Lord Ashburton, a Commissioner appointed by the British Government, got together and settled the dispute. Mr. Webster was statesman enough to see that the friend-

ship of Great Britain was worth more than a few square miles of rocks and scrub timber, and did not haggle. By the final arrangement Great Britain got 5,012 miles and the United States 7,015, a decision which gave us about 900 miles more than the award of the King of the Netherlands, which the United States had refused to accept. Maine was furious, and the United States had to conciliate her by a cash payment of $150,000.

The Secret Map.—There is a well-known story of a map of which Mr. Webster is said to have made a dishonourable use. While the Americans were looking for evidence in support of their claim, one of their agents found in the French Foreign Office, at Paris, a letter from Benjamin Franklin, one of the American negotiators in 1782–3, to the French Foreign Minister, saying that he was sending him a map on which was marked in red the boundary agreed on. No map was attached to the letter, but on searching among the maps in another part of the building the agent found one on which the boundary was marked in red in a way which gave the British more than they had ever claimed. This map Mr. Webster concealed from the British Commissioner, but afterwards used in a secret session of the Senate and in his negotiations with Maine to frighten them into giving way. This looks bad; but as all the maps published in Great Britain during the negotiations of 1782-3 and for some years after grant the American claim, and as the red line cannot be made to correspond with the wording of the treaty, we may well doubt whether the map found was really the one sent by Franklin. Besides, it has since been discovered that there was at this time in the British Foreign Office a map given by the British negotiators to King George III, on which the boundary is marked practically in accordance with the American claim. If the Americans kept dark a doubtful map which might have helped us, we

kept dark one not at all doubtful, so that John Bull was at least as tricky as Uncle Sam.

II. The North-west Boundary

The Oregon Territory.—Hardly was the Ashburton Treaty signed when the British Government proposed a settlement of the north-west boundary. The district in dispute, known as the Oregon territory, extended from the Spanish boundary in latitude 42° to the Russian territory of Alaska in latitude 54° 40′, and from the Pacific Ocean to the Rockies.

Early Exploration.—All this territory north to the Arctic circle had been visited and claimed by Spain, but never occupied. In the eighteenth century it was coasted by the celebrated Captain Cook, and in 1788 Captain Meares formed a settlement at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island, with the object of carrying on a fur-trade with China. In 1789 two British vessels were captured by the Spanish and the settlement was seized. Great Britain at once threatened war, and Spain was compelled to make restitution and agree that either party might fish, trade, or settle at any unoccupied point. In 1792 Captain George Vancouver sailed along the coast on a voyage of exploration, which had for its object the finding of a North-east Passage from Asia to Europe. The old dream of such a route around or across Canada was still strong, but as the French and English voyagers of the seventeenth century had failed to find an entrance on the eastern side of the American continent, Vancouver was instructed to begin his search at the other end. Coasting along, he missed the Columbia River, which had been discovered a few days earlier by Captain Robert Gray, an American fur-trader, in his ship the *Columbia*. Later in the same year Vancouver turned

back, sailed some way up the river and hoisted the British flag. In 1805 two Americans, Lewis and Clarke, were the first white men to go overland to the Columbia, which they descended to its mouth; and a few years later the United States took over the Spanish claims to the territory.

The Rival Claims.—The British claim was that the Columbia River should be the boundary; that of the United States, that the 49th parallel should be prolonged to the Pacific. For many years the only settlers in the district were the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, who carried on a large fur-trade; but in and after 1842 there was an inrush of American settlers, who set up a provisional government, and the question became pressing. Great Britain was anxious to arbitrate, but the United States claimed that arbitration would be a tacit admission that she did not own all the territory, and refused.

Fifty-four Forty, or Fight.—At this time the United States was in a very aggressive mood. It was the time of the lawless attacks on Canada in 1839–41, and of the filibusters in Texas. When Great Britain refused to give way, the whole of the Pacific coast of the United States resounded with the cry "54-40 or fight." This claim was adopted by one of the two American political parties, and meant that they asserted ownership of the whole territory in dispute right up to the Russian boundary. Mr. Polk, the American President, was anxious for war, and wrote to Congress that the British claim "can never for a moment be entertained by the United States without an abandonment of their just and clear territorial rights, their own self-respect, and the national honour." Again Great Britain suggested arbitration, and told the United States that if they rejected it "Her

Majesty's Government will have no choice but to maintain unimpaired those rights which they believe Great Britain to possess."

The Oregon Treaty, 1846.—Luckily neither party was anxious to fight. The United States was on the brink of war with Mexico, and though the President was anxious to fight Great Britain as well, the Senate refused to back him up; and in 1846 a compromise was arranged by which the boundary was to run along the



Oregon Territory Dispute

49th parallel to the water's edge, and then to dip southward so as to give to Great Britain the whole of Vancouver Island.

Canadians have often thought that by this compromise they were deprived of territory which should have been theirs. The plain truth is that on grounds of history and of exploration, both parties had a good claim. In 1846 the country was full of American settlers, while except a few employees of the Hudson's

Bay Company, no British subject was within two thousand miles. In these circumstances it showed great firmness on the part of Great Britain that she preserved for Canada as much as she did, that the Americans did not get 54° 40′ as their boundary, and that they thought it better to compromise than to fight.

The San Juan Dispute.—A new dispute now arose. The boundary was to run "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca's Strait to the Pacific Ocean." But there were three channels between the continent and Vancouver Island, and it was doubtful which was meant. The decision involved the ownership of the little island of San Juan, on which both countries had citizens, and the possession of which by the Americans would, in the event of war, render the city of Victoria untenable. In 1859 a pig belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company trespassed on an American's garden, and was shot by the indignant owner. An officer of the Hudson's Bay Company threatened to arrest him and take him to Victoria for trial. A fire-eating American general named Harney occupied the island, and it looked as if two great nations would go to war over a dead pig. Fortunately both governments were wise, and the American general, Winfield Scott, who in former years had shown such wisdom about the Maine boundary, arranged a joint occupation with equal rights for the citizens of both countries. This arrangement Harney in the next year tried to violate, ordering the British Captain of Marines in charge of the garrison "to acknowledge and respect the civil jurisdiction of Washington Territory," and threatening that any failure to acknowledge such jurisdiction "would be followed by deplorable results."

The British Ambassador at Washington at once called on the American Government to apologize, saying that otherwise "deplorable consequences would indeed be only too likely to follow." Harney's orders were at once revoked, an apology was made, and he himself was recalled. The British Ambassador then suggested arbitration, but the American Civil War was on the point of breaking out and nothing was done. In 1871 the American Government yielded, and the matter was referred to the arbitration of the German Emperor, who, in October, 1872, gave his decision in favour of the American claim.

CHAPTER XXII

IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Corn Laws.—We have seen how France and Great Britain, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, valued their colonists because of the raw materials which they produced and the manufactures which they consumed. How was it that, in the struggle for responsible government, we hear so little of this? How was it that even the Reformers were willing to have our trade controlled by the British Parliament? The answer is that the control was greatly to our advantage. In order to keep trade within the Empire, the lumber of Canada and New Brunswick was admitted into Great Britain at a very low rate of duty compared with that paid by lumber from Norway, Sweden, and the other countries around the Baltic Sea. By a set of laws known as the Corn Laws, a high duty was placed on foreign grain, and a large preference given to ours. In return Canada gave a preference to British manufactures, but on the whole we had much the best of the arrangement; for whereas Great Britain paid higher for Canadian lumber and wheat, British manufactures were so much the best that we would have bought them in any case. In 1843 the British preference on Canadian corn and flour was increased, and as American grain came into Canada at a low duty, and when ground in Canada was considered as Canadian flour, a very large milling industry grew up in and near Montreal.

Free Trade, 1846.—But a movement in favour of free trade and of the abolition of the Corn Laws had

been growing up in Great Britain. She had found that the loss of her colonies did not mean the loss of their trade; for trade with the United States, after it had become independent, increased faster than it had done before. It was also found that the expense of keeping and garrisoning the colonies was very much greater than any profit drawn from them; in 1843 the military expenditure in British North America alone was over $3,400,000. In Great Britain the growth of the population and the herding together of people in towns, owing to the development of manufactures, led to a cry for cheap food. What good was it to talk to men and women who were starving, to children who worked ten hours a day for a few pennies, of the need of holding the Empire together by preferential trade? What they wanted was untaxed bread. In 1845 the potato crop in Ireland failed; it had been the chief food of the people, and it was soon clear that to prevent famine Ireland must be allowed to import flour free of duty. In 1846 the British Government abolished the Corn Laws; the preference on Canadian produce was cut in two; in 1849 it was wholly done away with on grain, and in 1860 on lumber. This great change did much to lessen the misery of the English poor; it may even have saved the country from a revolution; but it ruined many Canadian millers.

The Annexation Manifesto, 1849.—In 1849 nearly 1,000 Montreal merchants of both political parties issued a manifesto urging that "a friendly and peaceful separation from British connection, and a union upon equitable terms with the great North American confederacy of sovereign states," was the only real remedy for Canadian misery. But they had reckoned without the loyalty of Canadians, and their manifesto awoke hardly an echo in Upper Canada.

Such of them as had belonged to the militia or had held government appointments were promptly dismissed by the Governor-general, and obtained little sympathy throughout the country. Indeed in the long run the abolition of preferential trade did Canada good by throwing us on our own resources, and so developing in us a more independent spirit.

Repeal of the Navigation Acts.—Meanwhile, though the preference had been taken away, the Navigation Acts still prevented us from trading freely with the rest of the world. This was obviously unfair, and they were repealed in 1849.

The Reciprocity Treaty, 1854.—In 1854 Lord Elgin still further removed the discontent by going down to Washington and negotiating a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, giving free entrance into either country to the products of the farm, the forest, the mine, and the fisheries, and free use of each other's canals. How did he succeed in making such a treaty for which Canada had been longing for years? It has been said that it was "floated in on champagne," and undoubtedly Elgin's tact in dealing with men had much to do with it. But great as was Lord Elgin's geniality, we must also remember that at this time both American parties were anxious to win the votes of the Border States, which considered that reciprocity would be a boon. This treaty came into force in 1855, and was profitable to both countries, especially to Canada; for in 1861 the great American Civil War between North and South broke out, and our farmers were able to sell their crops at war prices. After lasting for ten years, the treaty was denounced by the Americans and came to an end in 1866, owing to (*a*) the growth in the United States of a belief in protection; (*b*) American ill-feeling toward Great Britain for her friendliness to the South-

ern States; and (*c*) a belief by many Americans that by its repeal they could starve Canada into the Union.

The abrogation of this treaty crippled Canada for a time, and our statesmen frequently went to Washington to ask for its renewal; but with our increasing prosperity we have now given up any such idea and are trying to make trade flow east and west. In 1911 another attempt was made to bring about reciprocity in natural products, but on this occasion it was the United States which asked for it and Canada which refused.

Canada Taxes British Goods.—The next step in winning the right to control our own affairs was made in 1859, when Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance in the Conservative Government of the day, imposed heavy duties on large classes of imported goods, including those from the mother country. The British Government protested, and read us a lecture on the benefits of free trade. Galt at once wrote back that "self-government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada." From that time on we have been allowed to impose such duties as we think fit.

Withdrawal of the British Troops.—Once Canada had been given responsible government, it was difficult for Englishmen to see what good they got from us, and a feeling grew up that separation would be best. Great Britain needed all her money to improve the condition of the poor in her crowded cities; why should she spend large sums on defending countries which did nothing for her in return? "Those wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks," wrote Mr. Disraeli (afterwards Lord Beaconsfield) in 1853. "We are, I suppose, all looking to the eventual parting company on good terms," wrote in 1854 the chief official at the Colonial Office, Lord Blatch-

ford. Some years later the same theory was expressed with great force by Professor Goldwin Smith in a book on *The Empire* (1862). But those who felt thus were always in a minority. Most of the people of Great Britain felt that she and her children across the sea were bone of one bone and flesh of one flesh, and that the value of their union could not be measured in dollars and cents. But they also felt it to be unfair that the colonies should pay less than one tenth of the military expenditure of Great Britain in the colonies, which without counting in any share of the cost of the navy, was nearly $20,000,000 a year; and in 1862 the House of Commons passed a resolution that the colonies must look after their own local protection and should be asked to share in their external defence. By 1870 all the British troops had been withdrawn from Canada, except small garrisons at Halifax and Esquimalt, which were considered too important to be intrusted to the militia.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EVE OF CONFEDERATION

Hincks and Morin.—In 1851 Baldwin resigned from the ministry and retired into private life. In the same year Lafontaine also resigned and resumed the practice of law in Montreal; soon after he was appointed Chief-justice of Lower Canada, a position which he held with honour till his death. With their passing from the stage a new era begins. We had won responsible government; we had still to learn how to work it. Lafontaine was succeeded as leader of the French Canadians by his understudy, Mr. A. N. Morin. The lead of the Upper Canadian reformers was taken by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Hincks, a very able financier, well fitted to superintend the development of our railways and of our banking system.

John A. Macdonald.—Meanwhile the Tory party was reviving, under the leadership of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Alexander Macdonald (1815–1891). His father was a shiftless Highlander, who had come out from Scotland in 1820, and settled near Kingston. His mother, to whom he owed many of his brilliant qualities, was a shrewd and energetic woman. The son educated himself, studied law, and became a well-known practitioner. His great ability and charming manners made him the idol of the young men. He was at home with all from the highest to the lowest. It was not surprising then that in 1844 he was elected member for Kingston. With a passion for reading and study, at first oftener in the Library than in the House, with a

ready smile and a kindly word for every one, and with such a gift of memory that after thirty years he could recall a face, he soon rose to prominence. In 1854 the general election resulted in the return of a number of groups no one of which was strong enough to form a ministry, and Macdonald saw that his hour had come.

The Situation in 1854.—At this time there were really seven groups in the united province: (1) The Tories, the remnant of the Family Compact, led by Sir Allan MacNab, a bluff old Scotchman not above the average man in either brains or principles. (2) Moderate Tories, calling themselves Conservatives, under the rising star of Macdonald. (3) The moderate Liberals under Hincks, who formed the largest single group. (4) The "Clear Grits," whose early leaders had been William Lyon Mackenzie and Dr. John Rolph, two of the rebels of 1837, but who now acknowledged the leadership of Mr. George Brown, editor of the Toronto *Globe*. Brown (1818–1880) was a young Scotchman, who had come out in 1843, and who gave his tireless energy to fighting what he considered abuses. The Grits were the anti-privilege men; they saw that the Roman Catholic Church had certain privileges, and attacked them; they saw that the seigniors had certain privileges, and denounced them. For the same reason they denounced the Clergy Reserves and Separate Schools.

In Lower Canada, (5) the so-called Liberals under Morin, and (6) the "Parti Rouge," or "Reds," a band of brilliant young men, who longed for a freer intellectual life than was possible under the rule of the Roman Catholic Church. They had a centre at the Canadian Institute at Montreal, and were at deadly feud with the clergy, whose bigotry and interference in elections they resented. Their leader was at first the old rebel Papineau, who was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. A. Dorion,

than whom Canada has had no more honourable and straightforward statesman. (7) The English in Montreal and the Eastern Townships, led by Galt.

Liberal-Conservatives and Grits.—The acute mind of Macdonald saw that the French with their strong religious sense and their agricultural habits were really Conservatives, whom opposition to the oligarchy had forced for a time into the other camp. In Upper Canada, now that responsible government had become an established fact, the differences between moderate Liberals and moderate Conservatives had become very small. The way was thus clear for the moderate men in both provinces to unite to form a new party. In 1854 Macdonald succeeded in uniting the Conservatives and the Liberals of both provinces under the title of Liberal-Conservatives, and he was joined by most of the Tories. This coalition was bitterly attacked by extreme men on both sides, but Robert Baldwin came out of his retirement for a moment to approve of it; it was surely time for a party which represented the views of the moderate men of both races. Of the new party the Upper Canadian leader was at first Sir Allan MacNab, but in the next year he was quietly shelved in favour of Macdonald. Mr. Morin also retired from the leadership of the French, in favour of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Georges Cartier, who carried on the tradition of Lafontaine. In opposition to them George Brown united the Grits and the Reds. The English in Lower Canada formed a little group by themselves—Galt tending to support the Conservatives, and most of his followers the Grits. In Lower Canada after a bitter struggle the clergy almost stamped out the Reds, though Dorion and a few followers managed to retain their seats; in Upper Canada, Brown gradually got a steady Grit majority, partly on the ground of hatred toward the French, partly on the much more justifiable

question of representation by population, Rep. by Pop., as it was often called.

Rep. by Pop.—By the Union Act of 1840 Upper and Lower Canada had been granted forty-two representatives each, afterwards increased to sixty-five each. This was at the time unjust to the French, who had a population of 600,000 as against 450,000 in Upper Canada; but, as Lord Durham had foreseen, immigration soon began to pour into Upper Canada. By 1851 her population was greater by 60,000 than that of the Lower Province, and in 1861 the figures were: Upper Canada, 1,396,091, Lower Canada, 1,111,566; the discrepancy in riches and in payment of revenue was much larger. When Brown urged that the Act should be changed to grant representation by population, Cartier told the House that the extra numbers in Upper Canada had no more right to representation than so many codfish in the Bay of Gaspé. So unjust did the people of Upper Canada feel this to be that, by the cry of the need of representation by population and of the danger of French domination, Brown obtained a steady majority in that section of the province. Thus whichever party was in power was compelled to govern one part of the province by the aid of a majority from the other.

Abolition of Clergy Reserves and Seigniorial Tenure.—The two chief questions settled by the Liberal-Conservative Government of 1854 were the Clergy Reserves and Seigniorial Tenure. Lord Sydenham, by the use of great tact, had succeeded in passing a measure by which the Clergy Reserves were to be divided in the proportion of one quarter to the Church of England, one quarter to the Presbyterians, and one half to the other Protestant bodies. This Act was declared by the British Attorney and Solicitor-general to be *ultra vires*, that is, not within the power of the Canadian Parliament, but

in the same year (1841) a similar Act was passed in England, giving a little more to the Anglicans and a little less to the Presbyterians.

But Dr. Strachan, then Bishop of Toronto, objected to sharing the Reserves with people whom he considered Dissenters; so also did the Presbyterians of the Established Church of Scotland. On the other hand, George Brown and the Grits fought hard for the secularization of the Reserves, and finally in 1854 the majority in favour of this policy grew so strong that it was carried out by the Liberal-Conservatives. After making provision for all living clergymen who were drawing money from the Reserves, the remainder was divided among the municipalities in proportion to their population and applied to ordinary municipal purposes. The clergy showed an excellent spirit, and for the sake of peace quietly accepted this great sacrifice of their undoubted legal rights.

At the same time the rights of the seigniors in Lower Canada were taken from them. The system which had worked so well under the French had gradually become unfitted for the country. With the growth of Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers some of the seigniorial land had been included within their limits, and the payment of the *quint* and of *lods et ventes* at every sale of a town lot was a great burden. As these payments were in proportion to the value of the land, the more the *habitant* improved his farm the more he had to pay to the Crown or to the seignior when he sold it, and the system thus encouraged him to leave his land unimproved. Under British law there was no Intendant to see that the seignior dealt justly by the *habitant*, and he was free to exact all that the letter of the law allowed. In 1854, therefore, the government abolished all seigniorial dues and rights in Lower Canada; a special court of fifteen judges, with Lafontaine at its head,

was appointed to estimate the loss to the seigniors. They were paid full compensation, and a schedule of fixed rents drawn up and put in force. As a rule the seigniors must have been good landlords, for though the *habitants* were allowed to buy their farms outright on easy terms, most of them preferred to continue as tenants.

Deadlock.—From this time on the government was chiefly occupied with the question of railways, the progress of which will be told in the next chapter. Owing to the struggle for Rep. by Pop., in which Brown had the better in Upper Canada, and Macdonald in Lower Canada, the numbers in the two parties grew more and more equal, and the governments more and more feeble. There is thus little of interest to tell. Cartier had a commission appointed which codified the civil law of Lower Canada with such skill that the law of Quebec is in many ways superior to that in any other province, and Cartier said that he wished as his epitaph, "He codified the civil law." Up to this time it had consisted of : (*a*) the Custom of Paris, (*b*) the edicts of the French governors and intendants, (*c*) the ordinances of the British governors between 1763 and 1791, (*d*) the Provincial statutes. In this confusion it had been difficult even for lawyers to know what was the law on any question.

After the riots in 1849 the capital had been taken away from Montreal, and parliament met alternately, every four years, at Quebec and Toronto. The inconvenience of this system may be imagined, when all the clerks and all the papers had to be moved every four years from one to the other. Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, and Toronto all claimed the honour, and in 1857 the question was referred to Queen Victoria, who chose Bytown, and changed its name to Ottawa. Though



QUEBEC IN 1858
(Drawn by Sir Edmund Head)

Ottawa has since proved an admirable capital and is becoming a great city, it was at the time only a small lumber village far away from the centres of population, and the choice roused such anger that in 1858 its opponents defeated the government. George Brown and Dorion then formed an administration which lasted only four days and was replaced by another under Cartier and Macdonald. In 1861 this government won by a small majority in a general election, but in 1862 was defeated on a Militia Bill by the votes of Lower Canada. The Governor-general then called on Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, who, with Mr. L. Sicotte from Lower Canada, formed a government. Sandfield Macdonald was a hot-tempered Highlander from Glengarry, who all his life was what he himself called a political Ishmael. A Roman Catholic, he yet opposed separate schools; a so-called Liberal, he was opposed to representation by population and bitterly disliked George Brown. In 1863 this government was defeated and another election was held, after which Sandfield

Macdonald united with Dorion and carried on the government till March, 1864, when they too were compelled to resign. A ministry was then formed by Sir E. P. Taché and John A. Macdonald which lasted till June, when it too was defeated. There had thus in three years been two elections and four ministries, and the two parties were at a deadlock. But whereas the deadlock of 1837 had only been solved by rebellion and bloodshed, the remedy for that of 1864 was found by peaceful and constitutional means. The management of our own affairs had taught us wisdom.

CHAPTER XXIV

INTERNAL PROGRESS

Growth of Population.—With the diminution of political discontent the country went ahead by leaps and bounds. Between 1841 and 1851 the population of Upper Canada increased from 455,688 to 952,000, and in 1861 to 1,396,000. Westward to Lake Huron and north beyond Lake Simcoe the new settlers spread along the streams, and through the forest. The increase in Lower Canada, though not so great, was still striking. Roads were built both by the municipalities and by the province, and population spread north along the St. Maurice and the Saguenay to Lake St. John, and still more into the unoccupied lands of the Eastern Townships, where after a few years the French outnumbered the English.

Education.—Education improved even faster than population. In Upper Canada a new era began with the appointment of Egerton Ryerson as Superintendent of Education, a position which he held from 1844 to 1876. Schools were built in every township, and an increasing number of them were made free to all, though not till 1871 was our present system of free compulsory public schools introduced. In 1849 the University of Toronto was freed from religious control by an Act passed by Baldwin. Bishop Strachan attacked "the godless University," and collected enough funds in England to found Trinity University under the control of his Church, but the great majority of the people of the province approved of the change. In Lower Canada an

Act, passed by Lord Sydenham for the establishment of Primary Schools, failed for various reasons, of which the chief was the resolve of the Roman Catholic Church to keep education under its control; but many independent schools were founded, especially by the great teaching orders of monks and nuns. Under two Superintendents of Education, J. B. Meilleur and P. J. Chauveau, much was done toward bringing the primary education of the province up to the level of that in the rest of British North America. In 1852 the Seminary at Quebec became by royal charter, Laval University, and greatly aided in the improvement of higher education.

Municipal Government.—In 1849 Robert Baldwin completed his service to responsible government by extending it to municipal matters. By this Act the rural districts were divided into townships, each governed by a council, which elected its own head with the old English title of reeve. The townships were grouped into counties, the councils of which consisted of the reeves and deputy-reeves of the group. Villages could be incorporated with the same powers as the townships. The larger towns were to be governed by a council elected by the ratepayers, each councillor representing a certain ward of the town, with a mayor at their head elected by the council from among themselves. The three cities of Kingston, Hamilton, and Toronto were given still larger powers on the same lines. Thus in municipal matters the people obtained officials responsible to themselves, and though the Baldwin Act has been changed and amended in detail almost every year since, its spirit and its purpose still endure in the municipal life of Upper Canada.

Indians.—Under the system of responsible government, the condition of the Indians was greatly improved. The British Government had been careful to

take over the land from them, only after making a treaty with their chiefs and paying them the price agreed on in money and goods. In each case, also, large tracts of land were left in the hands of the tribe, and considered as their "reserve." In the nineteenth century the government began to see that it owed a further duty to the Indians, and attempts were made to found schools, to teach them farming and the ways of civilized life, and to assist the missionaries who were working among them. Between 1840 and 1850 the Canadian Government took over the charge of the Indians, and greatly improved this better method of dealing with them. The supply of presents was greatly reduced as it had led to drunkenness, schools were founded, and the teaching of agriculture was encouraged. After Confederation the government of Canada carried on the same policy. As a result of the honesty and justice of our treatment of the Indians, we have had none of the terrible wars which have disgraced the United States.

Canals.—With an organized Cabinet at its head, parliament showed an energy unknown in former days. Between 1840 and 1850 our canal system was developed with great energy. The Lachine Canal was enlarged; the Cornwall Canal around the Long Sault Rapids was opened; the Beauharnois Canal enabled boats to pass the Coteau, Cedar, and Cascade Rapids; others were completed around the smaller rapids higher up. The Welland Canal was enlarged, new canals were dug on the Ottawa, and the St. Lawrence was bound to Lake Champlain by the Richelieu system. But just when these were finished and when we hoped by them to control the growing grain trade of the American West, we found that our water-ways and canals were being side-tracked by the building of railways all over the United States,

and that we must imitate our neighbours, or fall hopelessly behind.

Railways.—The first Canadian railway had been opened by the Governor-general in 1836. It extended from La Prairie on the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal to St. Johns on the Richelieu. It was sixteen miles long, and the cars were drawn by horses; in 1837 the first locomotive was used on it; during the winter it ceased operations. In 1851 there were only sixty-six miles of railway in the whole of what is now the Dominion. Then an improvement set in under the guidance of Mr. Hincks. In that year a railway from Toronto to Montreal was incorporated, and a great plan formed for a line from the American border near Sarnia to Halifax. An agreement was made with the Maritime Provinces to share in its building, and Imperial aid was sought. But the mother country quarrelled with the delegates about the route through New Brunswick, and Hincks, impatient at the delay, arranged with some British capitalists to build a Grand Trunk Railway from Quebec to the American frontier. In 1853, this line was opened from Portland to Montreal; in 1856, from Montreal to Toronto; in 1858, from Toronto to Sarnia. In December, 1859, the great Victoria Bridge, crossing the St. Lawrence just below Montreal, was opened for traffic, though it was not formally declared complete until the next year, when Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, came out specially from England for the purpose. By this time we had a line complete from Rivière du Loup, 100 miles below Quebec, to Sarnia at the foot of Lake Huron. Meanwhile in the western part of the province, the Great Western Railway had joined Toronto, Hamilton, and London. In 1867 there were 2,087 miles of railway in the Do-

minion, of which 1,275 were in Ontario, 523 in Quebec, 196 in New Brunswick, and 93 in Nova Scotia.

Partly owing to the extravagance and mismanagement shown in its construction, the Grand Trunk was not at first a success, and the province had more than once to come to its help; in all it obtained provincial aid to the extent of about $16,000,000. Some of the other lines, in their desire for aid, used jobbery and corruption in parliament. But the good done outweighed tenfold the harm. The railways changed the whole face of the country; they brought comfort and prosperity to thousands of homes; travel and the intelligence which travel brings became the possession of all, not the perquisite of the few. Above all, they bound our country together. But for the railways the great union which solved so many difficulties would have been utterly impossible.

Atlantic Navigation.—During these same years great advances were also made in steam navigation. Canada was thus bound closer to the Maritime Provinces, and the whole continent closer to Great Britain and to Europe. In 1831 the *Royal William*, a paddle-wheel steamer of 1300 tons, was built in Quebec, and plied between that port and Halifax; in 1833 she essayed a bolder feat, and in spite of stormy weather crossed the Atlantic from Quebec to London. Though one or two other vessels had previously used steam to assist their sails, she was the first ship to cross from the new world to the old with steam as the main motive power. But for some years longer the mails were carried in sailing ships; the average time taken by a letter from Liverpool to Halifax was thirty-five days, and to Quebec fifty days. In 1838 the sailing ship which was carrying Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia to England was overtaken and passed by a steamer, and on his arrival he brought strongly before the Colonial Office the advantages of this method of navigation. A

contract was entered into with the Cunards, prominent merchants of Halifax, and in 1840 the steamship *Britannia* entered Halifax harbour with the mails. This cut down the time from England to Nova Scotia to twelve and a half days, and five days later a fast steamer from Halifax entered Quebec. Canada was thus brought almost three times as close to Great Britain as she had been.

In 1856 the Allan Line began to run regularly from Montreal to Liverpool and in 1859 introduced a weekly service. For some years its steamers were the fastest in the world, but later on a series of terrible disasters due to careless pilotage and to inadequate buoys and light-houses made the United States lines the favourites. In spite of such accidents, these great improvements in navigation did much to keep Canadians in touch with the old world, and to give them a broader point of view.

CHAPTER XXV

THE MARITIME PROVINCES, 1763–1864

I. Nova Scotia

Early Immigration.—Nova Scotia had been ceded to Great Britain in 1713 by the Peace of Utrecht, but few if any colonists arrived till after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Port Royal was made the capital with the name of Annapolis Royal, and a small garrison sent out, to whose commander was also given the title and salary of Governor of the Province; grants of land were made to certain persons who, so far as we know, never came near them. After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Lord Halifax, President of the Board of Trade, sent out about 2,500 disbanded soldiers, under the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, who landed in June, 1749, at the splendid harbour of Chebucto Bay, on the east coast, and set to work to fell the trees and to build in the clearing the city of Halifax. In the next year the capital was removed thither from Annapolis. The new settlement was a half-way house between the old French fishing stations of Canso and Cape Sable; and Cornwallis, by a road to Windsor and Annapolis, linked it to the Bay of Fundy. In the next years about 2,000 stout-hearted German Protestants came out, most of whom went seventy miles south-west to found the town of Lunenburg, where after the Seven Years' War they were reinforced by other Germans brought in by British officers. In 1755, as we have seen, 6,000 French on the Basin of Minas were driven into exile. During the

Seven Years' War Halifax was the base of operations against Louisbourg. In 1758, during the ministry of Pitt, a parliament was called, which met for the first time on October 7th. If we omit Frontenac's unsuccessful attempt, this was the first parliament ever called in what is now the Dominion of Canada; our members of parliament at Ottawa should look back with pride to those twenty-two legislators called together in the Court-house at Halifax by Governor Lawrence. After the war more old soldiers were sent out, and in 1773 the ship *Hector* brought to Pictou Harbour 200 Highlanders, the first of the great wave of Scotch immigration to Pictou and Colchester Counties and to Cape Breton. At the conclusion of the American War, over 28,000 Loyalists entered the province, of whom about half founded the town of Shelburne and other settlements in Digby County.

Lumbering and Farming.—The first industry to rise to importance was the lumber trade; from it arose the building of wooden ships, which centred at Pictou and the other outports. In 1818 a series of brilliant letters, signed Agricola, really written by Mr. John Young, turned the attention of the people and of the government to agriculture, and this was much furthered in the next ten years by the building of good roads.

Prosperity of Halifax.—During the wars with the French Republic and with Napoleon (1793–1815), Halifax was the chief naval station on the North American coast, and hundreds of prizes were brought into her harbour. On Whitsunday, June 6th, 1813, just as the bells were calling to church, the *Shannon* towed the *Chesapeake* into Halifax Harbour. As Captain Broke had been wounded, and the first lieutenant killed, it was the second lieutenant, a Halifax boy, who commanded the *Shannon*, and it was in front of Government House that Laurence, the gallant captain of the *Chesapeake*, was buried with

military honours. From 1794 to 1798, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, brother of King George IV and father of Queen Victoria, commanded a regiment in the city, and though a jovial young fellow, did much by his words and example to restrain the drinking and excessive gambling which was too common among soldiers, sailors, and civilians alike.

An immense amount of British money was thus spent in the city. At the same time a flourishing trade was carried on with the West Indies, which were not allowed by the British Government to trade freely with the United States, and were forced to come to Halifax and Quebec for their lumber and provisions. These causes brought great prosperity to Halifax, and a merchant aristocracy developed, whose lavish hospitality was much to the taste of the officers of the army and the fleet.

Famous Nova Scotians.—Ever since these wars Halifax has been noted for the number of men whom it has contributed to the Imperial services. As Nelson lay dying in the cockpit of the *Victory*, it was on the breast of a Halifax midshipman, by name George Augustus Westphal, that his head was laid. In later days it was a Halifax boy, Major-General Sir John Inglis, K.C.B., who commanded at the ghastly siege of Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny, and for eighty-seven days held that great city for the Queen against 50,000 mutineers. It was a Halifax boy, General Sir Fenwick Williams, K.C.B., who during the Crimean War held the broken-down little city of Kars in Asia Minor so gallantly that in one day 6,000 Russians went down before its walls, and who at last when food was gone and powder all but spent put on so bold a face that he was allowed to surrender on terms dictated by himself. Such are the traditions of "the Warden of the honour of the north," the good, gray, misty, eastern town.

The Political Struggle.—The political struggle was similar to that in Upper Canada, except that the Compact was richer and more strongly entrenched. The bench, the bar, trade, commerce, banking, all social prestige centred in a small Halifax oligarchy, from which was chosen the Council of Twelve, which was both legislative and executive. Halifax was the province. A few Halifax merchants did all the trade of the province. In 1838 "the postman carried Her Majesty's mail to Annapolis in a queer little gig that could accommodate one passenger; the mail to Pictou and the Gulf of St. Lawrence was stowed away in one of the great coat pockets of a sturdy pedestrian, who kept the other pocket free for the partridges he shot on the way." Halifax, Pictou, and Sydney were the only ports of entry, and any one who proposed to add to them was accused of treachery to his native city. As Halifax was also the military and naval station of the North American garrison and squadron, British influence increased the exclusiveness. The leaders of this clique were men of ability and integrity, and endeavoured to administer the province in no narrow spirit. Nowhere did the Compact prove so competent; nowhere did it produce so brilliant a defender; nowhere was it overthrown by so great an antagonist.

Haliburton.—Its defender was Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796–1865), who in 1837 produced in "The Clock Maker," the first example of American dialect humour. Haliburton's object was really intensely serious; under the guise of the comments on Nova Scotia of a Yankee clock maker, he desired to set forth a theory of government and to stir his fellow-countrymen into greater activity. In his belief, government was the function of the trained few—a matter not to be taken in hand by the masses, but only by the competent and the

educated. Nothing but harm was done by the common people leaving their fields or their shops to meddle with politics. "I guess if they'd talk more of top-dressin', an' less of re-dressin', it 'ud be better for 'em." Responsible Government was a bubble. Let the people leave politics alone, and turn in to build the railways and bridges of which their native province was in need. "Give up politics," he says, "it's a barren field, and well-watched too. Look to your farms, your water-powers, your fisheries, your factories."

Joseph Howe.—This system, so well entrenched, so ably defended, was attacked and eventually overthrown by the most brilliant orator, and in some ways the greatest political thinker British North America has ever seen, one who was the lifelong personal friend and political antagonist of Haliburton. Joseph Howe (1804–1873) had begun life in Halifax as a printer's devil, and risen to be editor of *The Acadian Recorder*. He was thus well known when, in 1835 in a letter in his paper, he made fun of the magistrates and police of Halifax, who were appointed by the Crown, for there was no municipal government in the province. In high indignation these sued him for libel. Howe pleaded his own case in a speech six hours long, was acquitted, and left the court with the reputation of an orator. In the next year he was elected member for Halifax, and soon became leader of the Reform party in its struggle for responsible government. The publication in 1839 of Lord John Russell's despatch seemed to herald his triumph, but this was delayed by the narrowness of the Lieutenant-governor, Sir Colin Campbell, who eventually had to be recalled on the petition of the Nova Scotian legislature. Sir Colin, though singularly obstinate, was an honourable man, and before his departure he and Howe shook hands, admitting that each had fought

openly and like a gentleman. Lord Falkland, the next Governor, endeavoured to play the part of Lord Sydenham, but for this he had neither the brains nor the tact; and his calling to his Cabinet men so opposite in their views as Howe and the Conservative leader, J. W. Johnson, led to so fierce a quarrel that Howe on one occasion threatened to hire a black fellow to horsewhip the Lieutenant-governor. In 1846 poor Falkland returned to England; in 1847 the Reformers swept the province at a general election; in 1848 the Lieutenant-governor, Sir John Harvey, in years gone by the hero of Stoney Creek, called them to his Cabinet, and Responsible Government was won without the bloodshed and misery which marked the struggle in Canada. Howe, who was a bit of a poet, exultantly broke out:

> The blood of no brother in civil strife poured,
> In this hour of rejoicing ensanguines our souls,
> The frontier's the place for the patriot's sword,
> And cursed be the weapon that faction controls.

Railways.—During the next few years a vigorous policy of railway development was carried on. The Intercolonial Railway was projected, and a line built from Halifax to Truro; so that, when in 1864 federation was proposed, improved communications had bound the province into a whole.

Education.—We have seen that in Upper Canada the Church of England had become closely connected with politics and with education. It was the same in Nova Scotia where the majority of the Council of Twelve were members of that Church, and in spite of the protests of Haliburton and other enlightened members of their own body, kept very strict control over King's College at Windsor, the only University in the province. The Scotch, however, soon founded a number of schools, of which the most celebrated was Pictou Academy, with

Dr. Thomas McCulloch at its head. An enlightened Lieutenant-governor, Lord Dalhousie, endeavoured to found a Provincial University at Halifax, but nothing was done at the time save to erect a building. Later on Dr. McCulloch was called from Pictou to its head, but the stupidity of Sir Colin Campbell, who refused to allow the Baptists to co-operate, led them to set up a little institution of their own at Wolfville, and it was not till 1863 that, with the help of the Presbyterian Church, Dalhousie University was really established.

Sir Charles Tupper.—In 1863 Howe and the Reformers were defeated by a re-organized Conservative party led by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Tupper. The great act of this government was to organize the school system of the province and to make education compulsory. They found that in 1863 less than half of the children between five and sixteen could read and write, and Dr. Tupper forced through the Assembly an Education Act, which is still the basis of the provincial system. Excellent as this measure was, it roused fierce opposition among the farmers, whose taxation was increased; and it had not a little to do with their anger at Tupper's plan of union with Canada in the next year.

II. Cape Breton

On its cession to Great Britain in 1763, Cape Breton was attached to the government of Nova Scotia. In 1784 it was made a separate province under a Lieutenant-governor and Council. To it came about 3,000 Loyalists, who founded Sydney; but the main influx of population was of Highlanders, of whom before 1828 about 25,000 came and made Gaelic the second language of the island.

The British Government, fearing that the cheap coal would encourage the growth of manufactures which

would interfere with those of the mother country, refused to allow the working of the mines. This naturally led to much dissatisfaction among the settlers, and perhaps explains the description of them given in 1816 by the indignant Lieutenant-governor, who said: "They are a lawless rabble and often interrupted the Governor in the despatch of his duties." In 1820 with their own consent they were united to Nova Scotia. In 1827 all the mines in the united province were given by the British Government to the Duke of York, brother of King George IV, a royal spendthrift, who soon handed them over to his creditors; in 1829 these formed the General Mining Association, a British Company, which till 1857 controlled all mining within the province.

III. New Brunswick

Lumber.—If Cape Breton rests on coal, New Brunswick depends on lumber. For years almost its sole industry was the cutting of timber in its magnificent forests and the sending of it to the British market. The result was the growth of a number of great fortunes in England, and an influx of hundreds of lumbermen into the colony. Money was plentiful, rum from the West Indies flowed freely, but no middle class arose to give stability to the political life of the province. The chief incidents in its early history are the great forest fires, of which the most celebrated was that which in 1825 swept the whole valley of the Miramichi for nearly 200 miles.

Politics.—New Brunswick's political history is similar to that of Nova Scotia, though less striking. The Assembly was from the first discontented, and protested constantly against the privileges accorded to the Church of England, and against restricting the

right to perform the marriage ceremony to Anglicans, Scotch Presbyterians, Quakers, and Roman Catholic priests. This matter was not settled till 1834, when the British Government allowed it to be performed by all Christian ministers. Education, too, was under the control of the Church of England. When King's College was opened at Fredericton, its charter put it entirely under that body, till in 1860 it was made undenominational, and became the University of New Brunswick.

Responsible Government.—The leader in the struggle for reform was Lemuel Allan Wilmot (1809–1878), a prominent Baptist, grandson of a New York Loyalist; he found it very difficult to get his native province to understand what responsible government meant, the people taking much more interest in personalities than in theories. In 1842 his opponents won, but when three years later the Lieutenant-governor appointed as Provincial Secretary his own son-in-law, an Englishman and a stranger to the province, everybody grew angry, and the head of the Colonial Office wrote out telling them to accept responsible government, to stop quarrelling, and to go ahead to develop the resources of the province. Thus New Brunswick is the only Canadian province which had to have responsible government forced on it.

Railways. Liquor Traffic.—From 1848 till 1864 the chief matters of interest were the struggle to make King's College undenominational, the building of railways, and the fight over prohibition. In 1855 Mr. (afterwards Sir) Leonard Tilley brought in a bill to prohibit the liquor traffic, which was the curse of the province. The bill was passed, but was openly disregarded; just as much drinking went on as before, and the ministry which had passed it grew so unpopular that the Lieutenant-governor dismissed it,

much against its will, and in the parliament which followed, the bill was repealed. In railway building the government endeavoured to co-operate with Canada and Nova Scotia, but this proved impossible, and the province went ahead on its own account, till by 1864 it had 196 miles in operation, chiefly between St. John and Shediac on the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

IV. Prince Edward Island

Till 1798 Prince Edward Island was known as St. John's Island, when the name was changed in honour of the Duke of Kent. In 1763 it was made part of Nova Scotia, but in 1770 became a separate government. In 1767 the whole Island was granted away in a single day to sixty-seven Scotch proprietors, most of whom were absentees, who wholly disregarded the conditions of settlement, neither improving the land themselves nor allowing it to pass into the hands of others. Though a Representative Assembly was established in 1773, it proved powerless to remove this load, and not till 1873 was an Act passed by the British Government enabling the tenants to purchase their farms on reasonable terms. During the nineteenth century the population steadily increased, and though the Island is so fertile that it has long been known as "the garden of the Gulf," yet in the early nineteenth century it was described by the celebrated English writer Cobbett as "a rascally heap of sand, rock, and swamp . . . a lump of worthlessness which bears nothing but potatoes." The early settlers were chiefly Highlanders and Loyalists, to whom in the nineteenth century were added a number of Roman Catholic Irish and a sprinkling of English. The consequent religious brawls, in more than one of which blood was shed, make up the larger part of its political history.



FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION—HARRIS

CHAPTER XXVI

CONFEDERATION

Early Attempts at Union.—In the year after the United States won its independence a British officer, Colonel Morse, in a report to Sir Guy Carleton, suggested the union of what was left of British North America, with the capital in Cape Breton Island. At the time of the Constitutional Act Chief-justice Smith, one of the Loyalists, proposed a federal union. From this time on union was frequently advocated both in Canada and Nova Scotia and was favoured by the Loyalists. In 1822 John Beverley Robinson urged it on the British Government as preferable to the union of Upper and Lower Canada which at the time was being discussed, saying that "to unite the British North American Provinces by giving them a common legislature and erecting them into a kingdom would be a grand measure of national policy." Lord Durham at first supported it, but by the time he wrote his Report he had come to see that the lack of railways, of good water transport, and even of good roads made it impossible to unite so large a country, though he still held it up as the ideal. In 1858 Galt came into the Conservative Cabinet on condition that it was made a plank in its platform. His idea at the time roused little interest, but the deadlock of 1864 forced it on.

The Coalition of 1864.—In June of that year Brown and Cartier were brought together by Galt and decided to find in some form of Confederation an outlet for their difficulties. Macdonald was at first doubtful,

seeing the great obstacles in the way of such a plan, but he soon came to be inspired by the idea of strengthening the Empire by forming a great Canadian nation loyal to the British Crown. For years Brown had hated Macdonald; for years Macdonald's smile had ceased at the very sight of Brown; yet now at the call of Canada they united in her service. To these two great men party was dear, but their country was dearer. Equally noble was the conduct of Cartier. The French feared that by becoming not one of two provinces, but one of four or five, they would be swamped; Cartier resolved to persuade them of the opposite.

The Quebec Conference.—After much discussion, a ministry was formed with Sir E. P. Taché as Prime Minister, under whom Brown, Macdonald, and Cartier served on equal terms. Just at this time, Dr. Tupper had succeeded in getting Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island to send delegates to Charlottetown to discuss a union of the Maritime Provinces. In September, while the delegates were meeting, eight Canadian ministers appeared and asked them to join in the larger scheme of a union of British North America. The conference then adjourned to Quebec, where in October it met behind closed doors, and drew up a series of Resolutions, which early in 1865 were submitted to the Parliament of Canada and passed by large majorities.

Opposition in the Maritime Provinces.—So far all had gone well, but a chapter of accidents followed. In New Brunswick a general election returned a ministry against the proposal. In Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe, seeing that by union with Canada the Halifax merchants would lose their monopoly of the trade of the province, and finding that local pride revolted against union with the French, raised the flag of opposition.

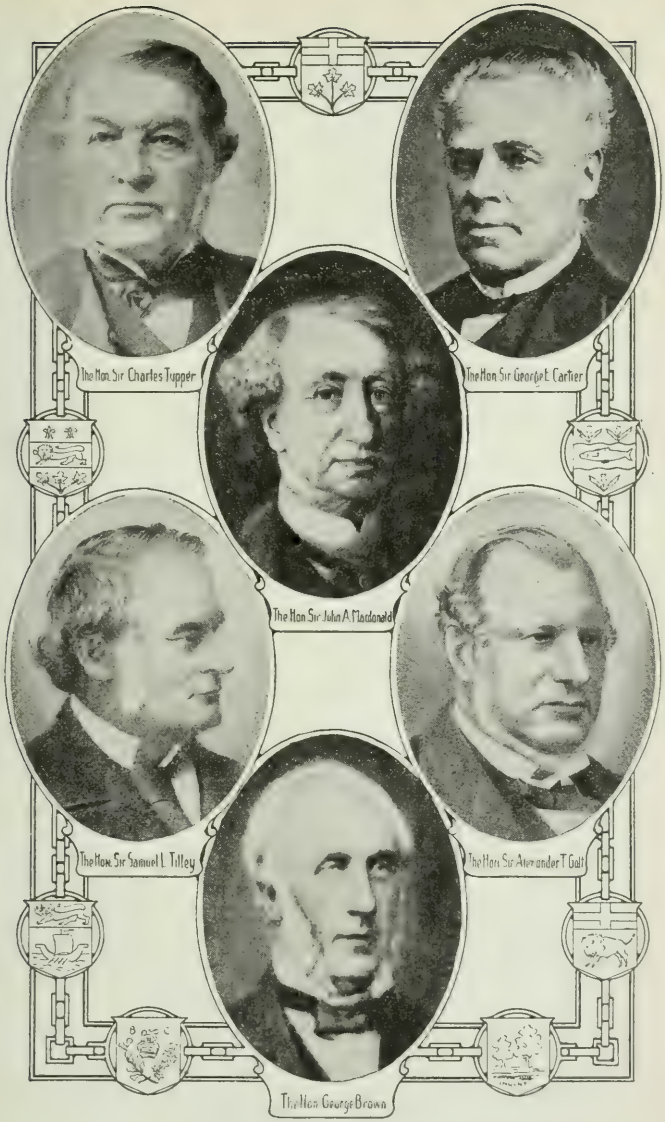
By the Quebec Resolutions the provinces were to give up their right of levying duties on imports, and were to receive in return eighty cents a head of population; all through the province the cry, "We are sold for the price of a sheep-skin," grew louder and louder. The legislature of Prince Edward Island repudiated their delegates. The people of Newfoundland would hardly allow the "schemers" who had tried to barter away their independence to set foot on the island, and at the next election the government which had proposed it was defeated almost to a man.

The British North America Act.—In 1866 the clouds began to clear. In New Brunswick the Lieutenant-governor forced the government to resign, and at a new election Tilley was returned with a majority in favour of federation. In Nova Scotia Tupper passed the Quebec Resolutions through the House, and refused the demand of Howe to submit them to a general election. At the end of the year delegates from Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia met at London, and held a number of conferences, in which the Quebec Resolutions were drafted into a bill. In these deliberations, though the British Government took the keenest interest, and gave every help, the most prominent figure was John A. Macdonald. "Macdonald was the ruling genius and spokesman," wrote the head of the Colonial Office, "and I was very greatly struck by his power of management and adroitness. He had to argue the question with the Home Government on a point on which the slightest divergence from the narrow lines already agreed on in Canada was watched for —here by the French and there by the English— as eager dogs watch a rat-hole; a snap on one side might have provoked a snap on the other, and put an end to the concord. He stated and argued the case with

cool, ready fluency, while at the same time you saw that every word was measured, and that, while he was making for a point ahead, he was never for a moment unconscious of any of the rocks among which he had to steer." At last the British North America Act was ready, and on March 29th, 1867, was passed by the Imperial Parliament. On July 1st, 1867, it came into force by royal proclamation, and the Dominion of Canada came into being.

"The Fathers of Confederation."—It has been said that the Father of Confederation was Deadlock; but this is unfair. Ever since 1841 people had been getting to know each other; the desire for a wider national life had been growing. Yet even so, it was the great good fortune of Canada that at this time the hour and the men met. Save in Upper Canada, there was little real enthusiasm for the measure; Nova Scotia was held within the union only by Sir Charles Tupper; the majority in New Brunswick was largely due to the Lieutenant-governor, Sir Arthur Gordon (afterwards Lord Stanmore). Confederation was the work of a knot of statesmen rather than of a people.

Fear of the United States.—Outside pressure also helped to unite us—(*a*) that of the British Government, which did all it could in favour of federation; (*b*) that of the United States. In 1864 the American Civil War was just coming to an end and an army of nearly 1,000,000 men was in the hands of the American Government to be used as it saw fit. British sympathy with the South had caused a good deal of ill-feeling, and many feared that the victorious army might be turned against Canada. The Americans had just denounced the Reciprocity Treaty, and Canadian merchants felt that they must find new markets. A bill was brought into the House of Representatives of the United



LEADERS IN BRINGING ABOUT CONFEDERATION

States making arrangements to admit Canada as a state of the Union. In 1866 a number of disbanded Irish soldiers belonging to the Fenian organization invaded Upper Canada, repulsed a force of Canadian militia at Ridgeway on the Niagara frontier, and were driven back not without bloodshed. It was this fear of being swallowed up by the United States, and the feeling that in union with their fellow-Canadians lay their one hope of safety, which forced Lower Canada to approve of federation.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WINNING OF THE WEST

I. The Fur-traders

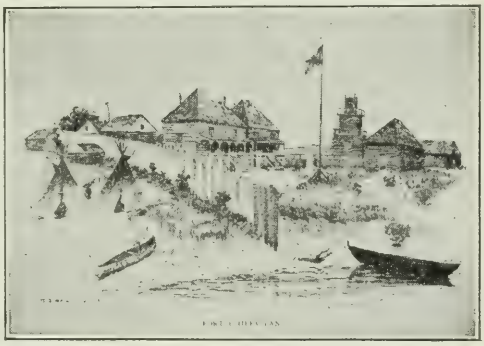
La Vérendrye.—We have seen that by the Peace of Utrecht (1713) the vast basin of the rivers draining into Hudson Bay passed into the hands of Great Britain. But the Hudson's Bay Company, to which the government was intrusted, did little or nothing for inland exploration, finding that it paid better to establish posts, or factories as they were called, at Nelson, Churchill, and other suitable spots on the shores of the Bay, where the Indians brought their furs to barter for the goods which came in yearly ships. It was a French fur-trader who first saw the mountain barrier of the Rockies rise above the sky-line. For many years Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye had pushed farther and farther west, partly in search of furs, partly driven on by his own restless heart. He was a Canadian seignior, born at Three Rivers, who had fought for King and country in the War of the Spanish Succession, and been left for dead with nine wounds in his body at the battle of Malplaquet (1709). In 1733 he built a fort where the city of Winnipeg now stands, and in 1739 went so far west, probably a little south of the present boundary line, that he came within sight of the foothills of the Rockies. But La Vérendrye was compelled to turn back, and his death left the mountain barrier still unpierced. His explorations had brought him little save debt and the jealousy of

rival traders; the French Government did nothing to reward him, and he died a broken man. But he had blazed the trail along which others were to follow. In 1752 his relative, De Niverville, founded at the very foot of the Rockies, Fort Jonquière; it was soon deserted, but so well was the site chosen that on its ruins there has risen the city of Calgary.

The North-West Company.—With the Seven Years' War the sceptre of the West passed from France to England. For twenty years after the conquest the inland trade was in the hands of private adventurers, who in 1783, tired of rivalry, united to form the North-West Fur-Trading Company, with its headquarters at Montreal. Finding the best sites on the Bay in the possession of their rivals, the new company struck boldly inland, sending its factors ever farther and farther afield, and bringing the furs down to Montreal by many a winding river and across many a rough portage. Of these, the most celebrated were Grand Portage from Lake Superior to the Pigeon River and the Lake of the Woods, and Methye Portage, called by the French Portage la Loche, leading from the Churchill system to the Athabaska and the Mackenzie. Most of the partners were Scotch, with French Canadian or half-breed *voyageurs* as their employees, and French and Scotch vied with each other in splendid daring. To one of them is due one of the greatest deeds in the history of exploration.

Alexander Mackenzie.—Alexander Mackenzie was a young Scotchman of fine physique and daring heart, who, in 1789, was in charge of Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska. In that year, with a few Indians, he pushed northward up the great river which now bears his name, till amid masses of floating ice he came out upon the Arctic. In 1792 he essayed a still bolder feat. Setting

out in October with one white man and eight Indians he wintered at the sources of the Peace River, and with the spring struck westward. Through tree-clad slopes where never white man had gone before, along rivers which suddenly narrowed and swirled in foaming eddies through lofty canyons, on and on he went, up the Parsnip, down the Fraser to Alexandria, back to and along the Blackwater, over the Coast Range, and down the Bella-kula (Bella Coola). Again and again he was within an ace of death, sometimes from Indian treachery, sometimes amid the canyons of the river; but with coolness and skill and undaunted heart he kept on, winning the Indians by a mixture of firmness and kindness, till at last he came out on the shores of the Pacific in latitude 52° 20′ 48″. There, in his own words, "I now mixed up some vermillion in melted grease and inscribed in large characters on the south-east face of the rock on which we had slept last night this brief memorial, Alexander Mackenzie from Canada by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three."



FORT CHIPEWYAN

From the Indians Mackenzie heard that another white man, whom they called Macubah, had lately been off the coast in a great ship with sails. This was really Captain George Vancouver, of whose journey we

have already told. The two great explorers had missed each other by only a few days.

The X. Y. Co.—Mackenzie's later life was turbulent but prosperous. He became a partner of the North-West Company, but quarrelled with them, and founded a new company, known as the X. Y. Co. In 1801 he went to England, published his travels, and was knighted in the next year by King George III. He afterwards became a member of the Parliament of Lower Canada, but eventually retired to Scotland, where he died.

Degradation of the Indians.—In 1805 the X. Y.'s reunited with the North-West Company. For the next fifteen years the united company was at deadly feud with the Hudson's Bay Company, whom the success of their rivals had brought inland, and blood was spilt in many an unrecorded skirmish and midnight ambuscade. The daring of the traders must not blind us to the terrible effects which their rivalry had upon the Indians; the Companies would give anything for furs, and the Indians would give anything for rum or brandy. Here is an extract from the diary of Alexander Henry, an agent of the North-West Company: "April 30, 1804. Indians having asked me for liquor, and having promised to decamp and hunt well all summer, I gave them some. Grande Gueule stabbed Capot Rouge, Le Boeuf stabbed his young wife in the arm. Little Shell almost beat his mother's brains out with a club, and there was terrible fighting among them. I sowed garden seeds."

Union of the Companies.—In 1820–1 the rival companies were forced by the British Government to unite; they adopted the name of the older body and the methods of the younger, and with their union a better day dawned for the Indians. From that date no country

has so clean a record in its dealings with the old lords of the soil as has the Hudson's Bay Company. The Western States went on the theory that the only good Indian was a dead Indian, and the history of their dealings with the red man is one of bloodshed and massacre. Ever since 1821 the British flag and the initials H.B.C. have stood for justice to the Indian, insomuch that during the terrible rising of the Sioux in Minnesota, (1862-3) one white man with his wagon is said to have got through by flying the British flag. The great hero of these days of the Company was Sir George Simpson, a little Scotchman with a great heart, who on foot, on horseback, in canoe, in Red River boat, visited every part of the great West, exploring, organizing, exhorting, filling the Company's servants with his own zeal and energy.

So long as they did not interfere with trade, Sir George encouraged missionaries. In the Christianizing of the West the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches took the lead, and the work of their clergy and of the nuns in far-off forts and camps, recalls, though with a happier ending, the tales of the Jesuits among the Hurons. No man can say how much of the peace of which we have spoken was due to the justice of the Company and how much to the gentle guidance and example of these heroic souls. Later on the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches also established missions, which did work equally admirable.

The West Locked Up.—In spite of its fine record in dealing with the Indians, the Company proved a hindrance to settlement. Settlers drive the fur-bearing animals farther and farther afield; the farmer is the worst foe of the hunter and trapper. It was thus to the advantage of the Company to keep the West locked up as long as possible, and they did not hesitate to paint

it in the blackest terms to any intending settlers, setting forth that what the grasshopper spared, the hail broke down, and what the hail left untouched was nipped by the early frosts.

II. Manitoba

Lord Selkirk.—Thus the only settlements which grew up were on the eastern and the western edges of the great lone land. In 1811 Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, who had already (1803) founded colonies in Prince Edward Island and at Baldoon, near Lake St. Clair, struck by the miserable state of the Scotch labourers and of the Highland crofters, conceived the great idea that by emigration to the new and wider lands of the West, the problem of old-world misery might be solved. It was a real vision of Empire in days when the revolt of the American Colonies was still in men's minds, and the vision and the dream was vouchsafed to few. Selkirk succeeded in getting control of the majority of the shares of the Hudson's Bay Company, was granted by the Company over 70,000 square miles in which to found a colony, bought out the rights of the Indians, and in 1812–13 established a number of colonists, chiefly from the Orkney Islands, at Forts Douglas and Baer (one near Winnipeg, the other near Pembina). But neither the partners in the North-West Company nor their employees had any intention of giving up their hunting grounds, and a small war broke out, in which the hardy half-breeds had the better of the more peaceful settlers. In 1814 Miles Macdonell, Governor of the new colony, issued a proclamation taking possession of the soil for Selkirk, and forbidding for a year the export of provisions. Acts of violence on both sides followed, and at last, in June, 1816, in a massacre known as the battle of Seven Oaks,

Governor Semple, who had succeeded Macdonell, and twenty-one others were killed. In the same year Selkirk sent out a number of old soldiers, who captured and plundered the chief post of the North-West Company at Fort William on Lake Superior, and re-established his colony at Kildonan, near Winnipeg. A series of trials and of lawsuits followed, Selkirk accusing the North-West Company of the murder of Semple, and they accusing him of a conspiracy to ruin their trade. The trials were a mere farce—lawyers, judge, and juries alike being under the control of the fur-traders. The murderers were acquitted, and Selkirk was heavily fined, retiring at last to Scotland to die of a broken heart. But his soldier settlers remained at Kildonan, and in the Red River Valley there gradually grew up a settlement composed mainly of Scotch and French half-breeds, living by hunting and trapping, and occasionally rebelling even against the mild rule of the Company.

Canada Takes Over the West.—But the West was destined for better things than to remain for ever a hunting ground. Once Upper and Lower Canada had begun to settle down, and to find that it was possible to live together in peace, if not in harmony, the wider vision and the larger hope began to dawn. In 1857 the Conservative Government sent Chief-justice Draper to England to try to negotiate with the Hudson's Bay Company. Although his mission failed, the Canadian hope did not die and was fostered by the great men of both parties. The Liberal leader, George Brown, and his lieutenant, William Macdougall, were instant in season and out of season for the acquisition by Canada of this great domain. Once Canada had become federated, and had thus obtained the power and the resources necessary to govern so vast a territory, the negotiations were renewed. There was need of haste; the United

States had just bought Alaska from Russia, (1867) and was known to be hankering for more.

In 1868 Sir Georges Cartier and Mr. Macdougall were sent to London to negotiate. There the British Government co-operated with them, and as a result the Hudson's Bay Company, while retaining its trading rights, gave up all its powers of government on condition of receiving one twentieth of the land, certain small areas about its own forts, and $1,500,000. This seems to us now a small price to pay for the great western heritage of Canada, yet so little was that greatness then realized that many men attacked the Government for its wanton extravagance. When in 1868 a Halifax clergyman was asked to collect for some starving families at the Red River, he wrote to a friend: "I could have collected as much and the people would have given as intelligently, had the sufferers been in Abyssinia."

The Red River Rebellion.—But the West was not to yield up her treasures without a struggle. The half-breeds around the Hudson's Bay Company post of Fort Garry (now Winnipeg) had no desire to leave the mild rule of the Company, and a series of mistakes and mishaps drove them into armed rebellion. The contractor who had been sent out to build a road from Fort William to Fort Garry was stupid and niggardly. Still more stupid was the conduct of the surveyors, who instead of following the old custom of the district which gave to each man a narrow frontage on the river and a long ribbon-like farm extending back two miles, divided up the country into regular lots of 160 acres, and ran their lines across the established boundaries. This may seem a small thing to us, but to the half-breeds it was manifest witchery and black magic, that men with instruments of brass in their hands should go about making mysterious drawings and writing mysterious words on paper, the result

of which would be too evidently to steal their farms from them. Of the two men who might have controlled them, Governor Mactavish of the Hudson's Bay Company was ill in bed, and the Roman Catholic Bishop Taché was away in Rome. Most of the trade of the little settlement had hitherto been with the American town of St. Paul, and in St. Paul there was a band of American conspirators, well supplied with money and anxious to raise a rebellion so that the United States might have the chance of stepping in and taking over the territory. Angry and bewildered, the half-breeds resolved to try the dread issue of war. They found a leader in one of themselves, Louis Riel, who had been partly trained for the priesthood, and was thus a man of some education. Though sometimes rash, vain, and cruel, Riel was also a man of deep religious feeling, who in imagination saw himself at the head of a great French Catholic state on the banks of the Red River. He and his followers felt themselves to be a free people, and denied the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to sell them like so many cattle in the market. When Mr. Macdougall, who had been appointed Governor of the new territory, arrived at the border town of Pembina, he was stopped by an armed body of half-breeds behind a barricade, who paid no attention to the order of the officer in command of his forces, to "remove that blasted fence." Macdougall foolishly published a proclamation announcing his appointment as governor, only to find that the Canadian ministry had refused to take over the territory from the Hudson's Bay Company till the troubles had ceased. Macdougall retired to St. Paul, and all Canada laughed at the poor governor of a territory which did not belong to him, helpless in a foreign city.

Defeat of the Rebels.—Meanwhile an English settlement at Portage la Prairie had enrolled volunteers,

and attacked Riel, but was defeated. So far, Riel had done little more than fight for his rights, but in January, 1870, he put himself forever in the wrong by the execution on a charge of treason of Thomas Scott, an Ontario Orangeman. Scott seems to have had a great contempt for all French Catholics and for Riel in particular, and had undoubtedly made himself disagreeable, but for the charge of treason there was no evidence whatever, and the so-called execution was a barbarous murder. Ontario was at once in a flame, and its Government offered a reward for the capture of Riel. Meanwhile Donald Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona), a prominent officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, had been sent up by Sir John Macdonald as Dominion Commissioner, and amid circumstances of great difficulty and peril did much to weaken the authority of Riel. In the spring an expedition was prepared under the command of Colonel Garnet (afterwards Lord) Wolseley, which went up from Thunder Bay by river, lake, and portage, and in August, 1870, reached Fort Garry, from which Riel and his men decamped without striking a blow. In the same year Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories were formally taken over by the Dominion, and the Province of Manitoba created.



MAIN STREET OF WINNIPEG IN 1870

III. British Columbia

Fraser and Thompson.—Meanwhile, far away across the Rockies, a solitary little settlement had struggled into being. In 1805 the North-West Company took up the work of Mackenzie, and sent Simon Fraser of Glengarry across the Peace River Pass to open up trade with the Indians. The tree-clad heights and crags and rocky torrents recalled to the Scot the land of his sires, and he named it New Caledonia, a name which it retained till 1858. In 1807 he undertook a journey down the turbulent stream which bears his name. Even for Mackenzie, this journey had been too much. After a few days of river work he had preferred to strike across country. Fraser kept on till at last the rapids proved impassable even to his daring; then with a thousand difficulties he and his men portaged the canoes over the lofty canyons into the short stretches of navigable water, and at last on July 1st, reached the river's mouth. Here they took the latitude, and were bitterly disappointed to find that this proved that the river which they had descended was not the Columbia. On the way they had discovered the Thompson, which they named after the Company's astronomer, David Thompson, a Welshman, who carried on the work of Fraser. In 1807–8 he established Kootenay House, and for many years, while he made no striking single journey, he was the great organizer of routes. Both he and Fraser lived to a great old age, and it is sad to think of them dying in poverty in eastern Canada, far from the scene of their exploits, their greatness long outworn.

Sir James Douglas.—After the union of 1821, the reinforced Hudson's Bay Company was given a monopoly of trade, not only in Rupert's Land, but in all British territory to the south and west of it. The Act of the British Parliament also said that owing to "the state

of continued disturbance," which had existed, this Indian Territory, as it was named, should be subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of Upper Canada; but Upper Canada was in no condition to maintain law and order in a country separated from her by two thousand miles of prairie and mountain, and such order as was kept was due to the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company made its headquarters in the valley of the Columbia, at the mouth of which river they had a fort named Astoria, which they had bought from John Jacob Astor, an American. Another, named Fort Vancouver, was built at the mouth of the Willamette. Here for twenty years Dr. John MacLoughlin was in charge, and made it a place of some importance, building up a trade not only in furs but in salmon, attracting a few settlers, and even exporting a little grain. It is possible that his energy did something to attract the American settlers who came flocking in in 1842–5, and whose presence forced on the division of the country and the giving up to the United States of all the mainland south of the forty-ninth parallel. In 1845, in order to be ready for the division, the Company founded Fort Victoria at the foot of Vancouver Island, and put it under the charge of James (afterwards Sir James) Douglas, who had long been MacLoughlin's assistant at Fort Vancouver. In 1849 it was made the headquarters, and from it for the next ten years the doughty Douglas, a fine, honourable, hard-headed, plain-spoken Scot, ruled British Columbia as autocratically as any czar.

The Beginning of Popular Government on Vancouver Island.—In 1849 coal was discovered on Vancouver Island, which in the same year was handed over to the Hudson's Bay Company on their promise to aid and encourage settlers. Many have accused the Company of having taken over the Island not to aid but to hinder

colonists, and in proof of this have pointed to the rule which refused land to settlers at a lower price than one pound ($4.86) an acre; but this regulation was really made by the Colonial Office, which had taken from Gibbon Wakefield the theory that waste land should be sold, and the money used to bring in more settlers. With land at such a price very few settlers came in, and these were soon at strife with the Hudson's Bay Company, which had the monopoly of stores and provisions and charged higher prices than the settlers thought fair. In 1851 fifteen of them—it is doubtful whether there were any more—petitioned for representative government. Douglas was made Governor by Great Britain, and given power to call an Assembly, which he did in 1856, when seven representatives constituted at Victoria the first Canadian Parliament west of the Rockies. Though to make the Chief Factor of the obnoxious Company Governor of the complaining settlers was a curious arrangement, Douglas did his best to carry it out with fairness to both sides.

Gold.—Meanwhile on the mainland there were only trading posts till 1857–8, when gold was discovered in the bed of the Fraser, and at the Forks, the name given to its junction with the Thompson. A few years before great discoveries of gold had been made in California (1849) and in Australia (1851), and from both countries thousands of red-shirted miners flocked to the new field. Some of them struggled up by land through the Okanagan Valley to Kamloops, but as a permit for digging could be obtained only at Victoria, most came by sea. In the summer of 1858, over 30,000 poured in. Yale, Hell Bar Camp, and all the Fraser up to the Forks were soon alive with miners with pick and shovel, and cradle for washing the gold. Over $500,000 was shipped out in the first six months. But the diggings were not long a

success; sometimes a sudden rise of the Fraser would wash away a camp; fierce fighting broke out with the Indians, whom the new-comers wished to treat as they had the natives in California and Australia; by 1860 most of the 30,000 had disappeared. In that year more gold was found farther north in the Cariboo district, and a new but smaller rush began, which in its turn died away. Still, though many died or departed, some remained, and formed the nucleus of a permanent colony.

Founding of British Columbia.—As a result of this inrush of settlers the British Government established the mainland as a separate colony, under the name of British Columbia (1858). The monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company was taken away; twenty-five of the Royal Engineers were sent out to make surveys and plan roads; Douglas was made the first Governor. The seat of government was still at Victoria, but in 1859 the town of New Westminster was founded, and the officials soon began to make it the centre for their work on the mainland.

Douglas and Begbie.—To reach the little colony from Canada one had to go by the Grand Trunk Railway to the frontier, then cross to Detroit, and go by rail to Chicago, thence by rail to St. Paul, thence by wagon across half a continent; from England one had to go round Cape Horn or across the Isthmus of Panama. Thus most of the settlers came from Oregon or Washington or California; the shops bought their stocks in the United States; American banks bought the gold; it was brought to them by the great American express company of Wells, Fargo, and Co. Had it not been for two men, British Columbia might have fallen into the hands of the Americans. One was James Douglas, who built roads, knit the province together, and gave it a local patriotism. From New Westminster a wagon road was

built to Barkerville, 400 miles from the coast. Other trails led from Lillooet to Lytton, and from Kamloops to the Kootenay. Parts of these were built by miners, part by the Royal Engineers, part by Chinese navvies; but the directing force was that of Douglas. Meanwhile order was kept in the rough mining camps by the Chief-justice, Sir Matthew Begbie, a Scotchman educated at Cambridge University. A man of honour and resolution, he knew neither fear nor favour. Every bad man was his enemy. The miners of Cariboo protested against the "dictatorial" methods by which he protected the Indians against them, but in their protest bore unconscious testimony to his worth by pointing out "the absence of all crime in the district." Let us never forget Douglas and Begbie, the two Scotchmen who did such splendid pioneer work in the days when British Columbia was but a little colony, with few men in it.

Union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island.—Soon representative government was demanded, and a Legislative Council was granted, in which some of the members were appointed by the Governor, and others elected. This body first met in 1864. In the same year Douglas resigned. The reign of the wise old czar was over; the reign of parliament began. Two years later, British Columbia and Vancouver Island, which by this time had a population of about 8,000 whites apiece, were joined and in 1866, the first parliament of the united province met.

Union with Canada.—On the formation of the Dominion of Canada, the provincial legislature passed a unanimous motion in favour of union with it. This was delayed for a year or two by the Governor and some of the officials, who disliked the union, but the Governor was replaced, the British Government used its influence

with the officials, and on July 1st, 1871, British Columbia became part of the Dominion. Of the terms of union the chief was that Canada should within two years begin, and within ten years complete, a railway binding the Pacific Province to Lake Huron and the east. Canada now stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific. On the one side she looked out to the old world of Europe, on the other to the still older world of China and Japan. But she was still length without breadth. Her enemies contemptuously likened her to "a bundle of fishing-rods tied together by the ends." Her westward expansion was ended; her northward expansion was to begin.

IV. The Frozen North

Hearne. Back. Franklin.—While fur-traders were showing much wild daring on the plains, still greater daring was being shown amid the barrens of the north and the frozen seas of the Pole, not from love of gain but in the purest spirit of adventure. Over moss and swamp and muskeg the explorers toiled; "then the food failed, then the water failed," until in the extreme of torment men ate each other, and died despairing in the long, long, Arctic night; and still others followed on, to win from the frozen north its secret. In 1771–2 Samuel Hearne, in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, went overland from Fort Churchill on Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Coppermine River. "He passed through the mountainless, mossy, treeless barrens of the reindeer and musk-ox until he reached the Arctic circle, the sea, and the Eskimos, whom his attendant Indians slew." But the greatest explorers of our northland were the sailors of the Royal Navy, and not at the Nile or at Trafalgar did they show a greater daring than in those long wanderings. In 1820–1 Sir George Back, with

Sir John Franklin and some *voyageurs*, again reached the mouth of the Coppermine from Fort Providence on Great Slave Lake. On the way back their provisions gave out. Franklin lay down to die, chewing offal in his despair. One killed and ate two of his companions, and was shot by a third. Back crawled on inch by inch, found an Indian, and returned with food in time to save the survivors. Even such sufferings could not daunt him, and in 1833–5 Back again started out from the Great Slave Lake, found the Great Fish River, and explored it to its mouth.

Others followed in his footsteps, and went on to trace the coast-line. A list of their names would be but a dreary catalogue, and yet they merit fame as well as did the heroes in Homer. But take a map; read the names of the rivers, capes, straits, and islands from Banks Land to Cape Best; most of them are called by the names of Englishmen or Scotchmen, and hardly a name but recalls some deed of heroism.

Death of Franklin.—Cartier and Champlain had longed for the South Sea, but none took up the search for a North-West Passage to it with the same zeal as did the men of England. In the great days of Queen Elizabeth, courtiers and sailors vied with each other amid the frozen seas. Martin Frobisher and John Davis and many another came back weary and beaten. Henry Hudson would not turn back, but sailed on and on till his men mutinied, and put him and his son and seven faithful companions adrift in an open boat, and left them to freeze or drown in the darkness (1611); sailors still tell how they have seen the fogbank lift, and dead Henry Hudson steering his dead men north by west. In the still greater days of Queen Victoria the search was resumed, and Sir John Franklin followed in the footsteps of Hudson. In 1845 with 128 men he set out with two

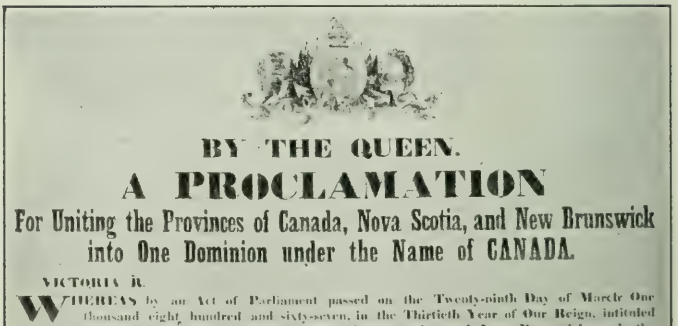
ships, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, intent to sail round North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Once and again in the first year they were heard of; then never again by mortal man save by a few wandering Eskimos. In 1848 the first of many expeditions was sent out in search of him. Vague stories were all that could be gleaned, but in the search every cape and channel in that grim north land was charted. Men coming in from Bering Sea met men coming in from Hudson Strait, and so proved that the North-West Passage existed indeed. At last the British Government gave up the search, but Lady Franklin found the money to send out a last expedition under Sir Leopold McClintock in 1857–9. This solved the mystery. On the north and west of King William's Land they found clothes, skeletons, and ship's gear, and at last in a cairn of stones a written record. On and on the heroes had gone, till at last, when, as we now know, they were near open water and the route to the Pacific, they became wedged in the ice near the north of King William's Land. Franklin died in 1847, and his two captains, Crozier and FitzJames, abandoned the ships, and led the survivors south, to try to find the Great Fish River. How they struggled on, how one by one they lay down in the snow and died, of the last agony of the last survivor, we know only from the tales of the Eskimo.

Subsequent Explorations.—Still the frozen north called to adventurous hearts. England sent Sir George Nares in the *Alert* and the *Discovery;* Commander Peary, of the United States Navy, made expedition after expedition, and at last had the great honour of discovering the North Pole (1910); Nansen and Sverdrup, from Norway, showed that Viking hearts were still strong to do and dare. A. P. Lowe, of Ottawa, sent by the Dominion Government, traversed Labrador,

and mapped out great areas on both sides of Hudson Bay (1906). In 1903–6, a Norwegian, Amundsen, who has since found the South Pole, sailed in his ship the *Gjöa* around North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Men often speak now as if the old days had nourished a braver, hardier breed. Never think it! The heroes of Elizabeth showed no grander daring, no more constant resolution, than did those of Victoria. In the roll of fame the name of Franklin rivals that of Frobisher, and the star of Amundsen shines as bright as that of Leif Ericson.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE FIRST YEARS OF CONFEDERATION



BY THE QUEEN.

A PROCLAMATION

For Uniting the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into One Dominion under the Name of CANADA.

VICTORIA R.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament passed on the Twenty-ninth Day of March One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign, intituled "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof, and for Purposes connected therewith," after divers Recitals, it is enacted, that "it shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice of Her Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, to declare by Proclamation that on and after a Day therein appointed, not being more than Six Months after the passing of this Act, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick shall form and be One Dominion under the Name of Canada, and on and after that Day those Three Provinces shall form and be One Dominion under that Name accordingly:" And it is thereby further enacted, that "such Persons shall be first summoned to the Senate as the Queen, by Warrant under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, thinks fit to approve, and their Names shall be inserted in the Queen's Proclamation of Union:" We therefore, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, have thought fit to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, and We do Ordain, Declare, and Command, that on and after the First Day of July One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick shall form and be One Dominion under the Name of Canada. And We do further Ordain and Declare, that the Persons whose Names are herein inserted and set forth are the Persons of whom We have, by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, thought fit to approve as the Persons who shall be first summoned to the Senate of Canada.

PART OF PROCLAMATION CONSTITUTING CANADA A DOMINION

The First Federal Cabinet.—On July 1st, 1867, the Queen's proclamation declared the four provinces to be united as the Dominion of Canada. The Governor-general called upon Macdonald, now made Sir John Macdonald for his services to Confederation, to form a ministry. Though composed in the main of Conservatives, several prominent Liberals took places in it. That men thus rose superior to the old party lines

and worked together for her service was a good omen for Canada.

Discontent in Nova Scotia.—The first big problem which the new Dominion was called on to face was the agitation in Nova Scotia. Forgetful of his past record, angry at the way in which his place as popular hero had been taken by Tupper, Joseph Howe put himself at the head of a movement for separation, which so swept the province that of the nineteen Nova Scotian members in the first Parliament of the Dominion, eighteen were pledged to work for the repeal of the British North America Act. But they found themselves powerless. Howe visited Great Britain to explain his point of view, but though he won the support of the great English orator, John Bright, the British Government refused to interfere. Many of the repealers then began to talk of annexation to the United States, but Howe, who whatever his faults, was a loyal British subject, promptly disowned them and gave his attention to getting for Nova Scotia "better terms" financially. Macdonald was too wise to haggle over a little money, and these were promptly granted. In proof of his sincerity Howe accepted office in the Dominion Cabinet, an act for which his old friends bitterly attacked him as a deserter. Though he felt that he had acted rightly, and that for Nova Scotia to rise in armed rebellion would be madness, the loss of the love of his native province broke his heart. After a year or two he resigned from the Cabinet, accepted the office of Lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, but died after holding it for less than six weeks (June, 1873).

Joseph Howe.—In Howe were combined the oratory of Papineau and the wisdom of Baldwin. His power of persuading men was enormous. In 1850 the Colonial Secretary refused to guarantee the bonds of the

proposed provincial railway for £800,000. Howe went over to England, and came back with the promise of a guarantee of £7,000,000 for a British North American system. In 1865, when the United States was on the point of denouncing the Reciprocity Treaty, a great convention of all the Boards of Trade of the United States and Canada was held at Detroit. Howe's speech in favour of the treaty was so eloquent that though the Americans at first were hostile, before he sat down they sprang to their feet, and passed a unanimous standing vote in its favour. His opposition to federation is a blot on his memory, but at least he died in the noble effort to erase it.

The Intercolonial Railway.—In 1864 the delegates to Quebec from the Maritime Provinces had had their choice of taking the steamer from Pictou which called at Shediac, or of going by sea to Portland, Maine, and there meeting the Grand Trunk Railway. They had therefore demanded as one of the terms of Confederation the building of an intercolonial railway, and in 1867 this was begun with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Sandford Fleming as chief engineer. The Imperial Government offered aid, but insisted that as the line would be essential in time of war, it should not run too near the boundary. This added to the length and to the expense, but after long discussions the present northern route was adopted, the lines already built from Halifax to Truro and from St. John to Moncton (near Shediac) were made use of, and in 1876 the Intercolonial Railway, owned and operated by the Dominion, was opened from Halifax and St. John to Rivière du Loup, the terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway. Later on the Government bought from the Grand Trunk Railway its line from Rivière du Loup to Quebec, and still later, partly by building, partly by buying up other railways, extended it into Mont-

real. The line from Truro to the Strait of Canso was also taken over, and extended to Sydney. The Intercolonial has not been a commercial success, but if Canada was to become a nation, the various parts of the Dominion had to be united in bands of steel, no matter what the cost.

The United States and the Fisheries.—In 1869 came the Red River Rebellion, told of in the last chapter, and in 1871 the union with British Columbia. Hardly were these over before Macdonald was called on to defend our interests against the United States. By the treaty of 1783 the citizens of that country were given certain rights of fishing in Canadian waters. After the war of 1812 Great Britain claimed that these had lapsed, while the United States regarded them as still in existence. At length, by a convention signed at London in 1818, the United States was granted the right to fish in certain defined waters and to land on certain coasts to dry and cure fish. From this time on, while Canada preserved her fisheries with care, the Americans wasted theirs in every way, and their fishermen came more and more not only into the Canadian waters in which they had a right, but as poachers into others. By the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 our fisheries were thrown open to them, but after its abrogation in 1866 the poaching was resumed, and led to continual quarrels between Canadian and American fishermen, capture and condemnation of American vessels, destruction of their nets and tackle, intense irritation on both sides. In 1871 Great Britain and the United States wisely resolved to hold a joint High Commission to settle this and other questions at issue, of which the two most important were the claims by Canada for damages done during the Fenian Raid of 1866, and those by the United States for losses inflicted by the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*,

which had been built in an English shipyard and allowed to escape to open sea by British negligence.

The Treaty of Washington.—Of this Commission, Sir John Macdonald was asked to be a member. It was the first recognition of the right of Canada to be a partner in the Empire, although in this first experiment Canada found as much of the disadvantages as of the advantages of partnership. British statesmen felt that nothing could so much contribute to the peace of the world as a good understanding between the two English-speaking nations; unfortunately, in order to come to terms about the *Alabama* affair in which they were at fault, they had to yield somewhat in the questions of the Fenian claims and the fisheries. Writing from Washington to his colleagues at Ottawa, Macdonald complained bitterly: "I must say that I am greatly disappointed at the course taken by the British Commissioners. They seem to have only one thing on their minds—that is, to go home to England with a treaty in their pockets, settling everything no matter at what cost to Canada." At one time he even thought of withdrawing from the Commission, but to do this would have meant the rejection of the treaty and a possible war between Great Britain and the United States. The British Government also made a private agreement with him that it would pay Canada for the Fenian claims, by guaranteeing a loan for a Pacific Railway. At last a treaty was signed by which Canadian fish and fish products were admitted free of duty into the United States in return for the free admission of American fishermen to our waters. As it was felt that this was a bad bargain for Canada, the United States also agreed to pay a sum of money to be determined by arbitrators, three of whom accordingly met at Halifax in 1877. The result was a triumph for the Canadian representa-

tive, Sir A. T. Galt, who obtained for us no less a sum than $5,500,000, of which $1,000,000 went to Newfoundland. Though on the return of Macdonald from Washington, (1871) Brown and the Liberals accused him of having sold his country, the treaty met with a better reception throughout the country than he had expected, and much to his surprise pleased the fishermen of Nova Scotia. In defending it in the House of Commons he made the greatest of all his speeches and nobly pleaded with the people of Canada "to accept this treaty, to accept it with all its imperfections, to accept it for the sake of peace and for the sake of the great Empire of which we form a part." His words are said to have changed fifty votes in the House, and the treaty was ratified by a large majority. In 1873 it came into operation, and there was peace along our shores until in July, 1885, it was terminated by the United States.

Downfall of Macdonald.—In 1873 Prince Edward Island, which had refused to join in 1867, entered the Dominion. Of all British North America, only Newfoundland now remained outside. Never did the reputation of Sir John Macdonald stand so high as at this time. He had widened the bounds of the Dominion till they extended from sea to sea; he had steered her safely through crises in East and West; he had thrilled her with the sense of her loyalty to the Empire and had induced parliament to make a great sacrifice in that Empire's behalf. Yet before the end of the year, he was driven from power and plunged in deep disgrace.

The Pacific Railway.—The Pacific Railway, promised to British Columbia, had long been the desire of those who with the eye of faith could see the future. In 1851 Joseph Howe told a great meeting in Halifax:

"I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam-engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains." In 1857 Chief-justice Draper of Upper Canada made the same prophecy in Great Britain. At the time it seemed a dream, but like so many of the dreams of great men it was to be realized, though not till it had overthrown a Canadian Government, and stained the glory of our greatest statesman.

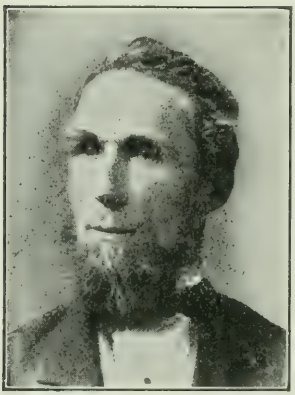
"Ocean to Ocean."—As soon as the agreement with British Columbia was signed, the government sent out surveying parties, and in 1872 an expedition under their chief engineer, Sandford Fleming, crossed the Rockies by the Yellowhead Pass. It was Fleming's enthusiastic report, and still more *Ocean to Ocean*, a book describing the journey, written by the secretary, the Rev. G. M. Grant, of Halifax, which first inspired eastern Canada with a belief in the West, and showed us something of the great future of the vast domain which we had purchased so cheaply.

The Pacific Scandal.—The Government had at first intended to build the line itself, but afterwards decided to employ a private company, known as The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which had been formed with Sir Hugh Allan at its head—a prominent Montreal merchant, president of the Allan Line of ocean steamships. Hardly had Parliament met in 1873 when Mr. L. S. Huntington, a Liberal member, rose in his place and accused the Government of having sold the charter to Sir Hugh Allan and his friends in return for large contributions to help in the recent general election. What made it worse was that this money was said to have been obtained from American capitalists. For a time these charges were not believed, and though a committee was appointed nothing much was done; but the secret correspondence between Sir

Hugh Allan and the American contractors was stolen and published, and a few days later copies were made public of letters and telegrams from Sir John Macdonald and Sir Georges Cartier, the genuineness of which could not be doubted, and which went far to arouse in the public mind suspicions of wide-spread corruption. As the proceedings of the committee went on, Macdonald's own evidence showed that he had received money from Sir Hugh Allan. Most Canadians knew that elections were not won without spending money, but it was too much to have the Prime Minister of Canada telegraphing "I must have another ten thousand; will be the last time of calling. Do not fail me"; or his chief subordinate Sir Georges Cartier, sending to Sir Hugh Allan "a memorandum of immediate requirements," which amounted to $200,000. Even had the demand been made of a relative or a party friend, the amount would have appeared excessive; made of a man who had no strong party ties, and who was seeking to obtain large favours from the Government, it was unpardonable. The crisis came when Donald Smith declared against the Government, and it resigned rather than face inevitable defeat (November, 1873). The Governor-general then called upon the Liberal leader, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, to form a ministry. Mr. Mackenzie did so, then almost immediately dissolved Parliament and held a general election, in which the conscience of the country returned the Liberals to power by a large majority.

Alexander Mackenzie.—Mackenzie (1822–1892) was a Scotchman, who by integrity and force of character had risen from being a stone-mason. Canada has never had a more honourable and faithful Minister of Public Works, one who more steadfastly refused to use government contracts to reward party favourites or to buy constituencies. His Government founded at Kingston the

Royal Military College (1875), many of whose graduates have since taken an honoured place in the ranks of the British army; it established the Supreme Court of Canada (1875), though still allowing an appeal from it to the British Privy Council; it passed the "Canada Temperance Act," better known as the "Scott Act," which did not a little to check drunkenness; it greatly purified our elections by introducing vote by ballot (1874) and enacting that the whole general election must take place upon a single day. But Canada needed more than good administration; she needed a man with imagination, and this Mackenzie lacked. Sir Hugh Allan's Company had been dissolved, but a Canadian Pacific Railway was a necessity, and this the Prime Minister could not see. He endeavoured to connect the great lake and river stretches by short lines of rail, offered British Columbia a post-road and a telegraph line, but went ahead with the railway so slowly that the Pacific Province went to the verge of secession, and was held within the Dominion largely by the wisdom and skill of the Governor-general, Lord Dufferin.



ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

The "National Policy."—Just at this time there swept over the whole world a wave of trade depression. American manufacturers unable to sell their goods at home, dumped them in Canada; many of our business men went bankrupt; the cry for protection grew louder

and louder. A little before this time a group of young men in Ontario, proud of their country and resolved to raise her to a place among the nations, had founded an association known as "Canada First"; its members did much to fire Canadians with a desire for self-sufficiency and for independence of American merchants. So far as Macdonald had studied the question he believed in free trade; and, just as at Confederation, he cautiously waited for a time. At last in the spring of 1876 he saw that protection would be popular, moved a motion in the House of Commons advocating it, and in the summer of the same year went through the country making speeches in its favour at great political picnics. Sir Charles Tupper ably seconded him. Dazzling pictures were drawn of how the tall chimneys of factories would rise throughout the country and depression pass away as if at an enchanter's wand. For a time the Liberals were so struck with his success that they thought of taking up protection themselves, but the members from Nova Scotia refused to adopt such a policy when their province imported so many of its manufactured articles from the United States. After much hesitation, the Government determined to stick to the existing low tariff and "kicked complaining industry into the camp of its opponents." In the election of 1878 the Liberals were at a great disadvantage; the country was unhappy and unprosperous, and all they could say was that this was due to causes beyond their control, that they were, as one of themselves unfortunately put it, only "flies on the wheel." The Conservatives, on the other hand, advocated a definite policy from which they promised the grandest results. The country chose the men who promised to do something, rejecting those who said that all must be left to nature, and in 1878 returned Macdonald to power by

a large majority. His finance minister, Sir Leonard Tilley, promptly fulfilled his promise, and early in 1879 a protective tariff was introduced known as "The National Policy."

CHAPTER XXIX

EIGHTEEN YEARS OF CONSERVATISM

The Canadian Pacific Railway.—The new Government set itself to carry out the bargain with British Columbia. In 1880 the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was incorporated, with Sir Donald Smith and his cousin, Sir George Stephen (afterwards Lord Mountstephen), as its chief members, and set to work in 1881, splendidly backed up by Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper. Never did financiers more boldly stake their all upon the hazard of success; never did politicians, dependent upon votes for everything save life itself, plan a bolder enterprise in bolder confidence in the people of Canada. "They'll never stand it," said more than one old friend to Sir John Macdonald; but the Prime Minister knew the people of Canada better than that. By the contract the Government gave to the Company $25,000,000 in cash, 25,000,000 acres of land, and about 670 miles of railway already built or to be built through some of the most difficult parts. Smith, Stephen, and their fellow directors of the Bank of Montreal, embarked their last dollar in the enterprise. Even so, it seemed for a time as though it would fail. A prominent Canadian newspaper said that it would never pay for its axle grease; a prominent Canadian statesman laughed at the idea of building a railway through a "sea of mountains." But the courage of the directors, and the skill of their chief engineer, Mr. (afterwards Baron) Van Horne, triumphed over every obstacle. The line was pushed rapidly around the rugged north shore of Lake Superior,

over the tangled mass of rock and lake and wilderness between Lake Superior and Winnipeg, across a thousand miles of prairie where there was not an inhabitant save the buffalo and the Indian and a few hundreds of almost equally savage hunters, through the terrible Kicking Horse Pass, through Roger's Pass in the Selkirks which was discovered only in 1883 when the railway was already at the base of the mountains, then down the valley of the Fraser, and so at last out to Burrard's Inlet, an arm of the Pacific, where now stands the stately city of Vancouver.

The line was built solidly but at headlong speed. On the prairie a record was established by the laying of six miles of rail in a day. A great army of men had to be fed a thousand miles from the base of supplies, but every difficulty yielded to the organizing skill of Van Horne. By the contract the Company had been given ten years to complete the line, but so swiftly did the work proceed that on November 7th, 1885, at the lonely little hamlet of Craigellachie in the Rockies, Sir Donald Smith drove home the last spike of the first Canadian transcontinental railway. The expense was enormous; the Government had again and again to come to the relief of the Company, and did so in splendid confidence in the future of Canada. Once after the departure of Sir Charles Tupper to become Canadian High Commissioner in England (1883), Macdonald's resolution faltered. It is said that Sir George Stephen had packed his bag and was about to leave Canada a ruined man, when a friend persuaded Macdonald to call another Cabinet meeting and to agree to give the last millions that were needed. On so narrow a chance hung the future of Canada.

Discontent in the North-West.—The West seems fated to show at once the heights to which Canadian

statesmen can rise, and the depths to which they can fall. The Canadian Pacific Railway was not yet finished when it was used to take out troops to quell a rebellion which wisdom could have prevented. In 1870 the half-breeds on the Red River had been granted 240 acres of land apiece, in settlement of their claim through their Indian mothers to be owners of the soil. Most of them soon sold out, and went west to join their friends on the banks of the Saskatchewan, where they took up land after the fashion of their ancestors in long strips fronting on the river. The Canadian Government was spending large sums of money in England to attract settlers, yet it would do nothing for these settlers who were already on the spot. Surveyors were sent out, who repeated the mistake made on the Red River in 1869. Each square mile surveyed was divided into four quarter-sections of 160 acres each. This to the half-breed simply meant the loss of his farm. It may be said that most of these men had already been granted land in Manitoba; that if they had been granted a new title to new land on the Saskatchewan, they would again have sold it to hungry land-sharks, and been no better off than before. The answer to this is that, as the Canadian agent on the spot suggested, they could have been granted the land on terms forbidding them to sell it, and that in any case it would have been better to give them what they wanted than to drive them into rebellion. Others of their requests, such as those for schools and hospitals, were still more reasonable.

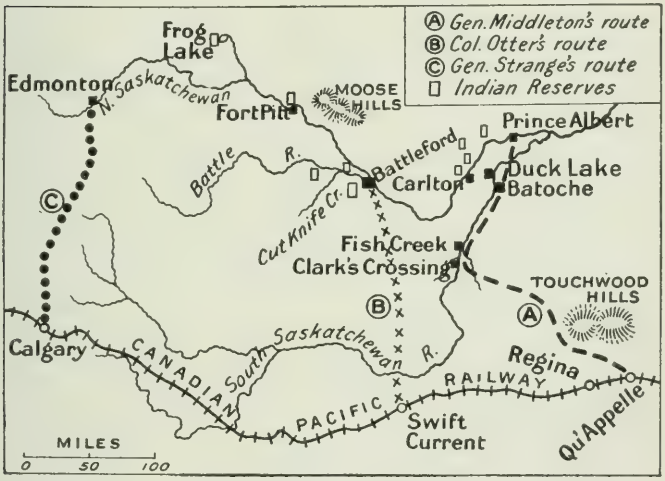
Extermination of the Buffalo.—To these troubles was added another; the buffalo was becoming a thing of the past. By 1870 the Americans had built a Pacific Railway which cut the great buffalo herd in two, and with the coming of the railway came white men in hundreds, who hunted not as the Indian for food, but for

sport, or for the splendid robes. Not fewer than 250,000 buffalo were killed annually. The great herds which had often stopped the trains, which had taken days to pass a fixed point, dwindled and dwindled, till by 1885 only a few hundreds remained in private parks or amid the woods beyond the North Saskatchewan. If the white man was to come, and to win from the soil the wheat which gives life to millions, then the buffalo had to go, and perhaps it was best that his going should be swift; but to the Indian and to the half-breed, their lot seemed hard indeed when to the loss of their great source of supply was added the neglect of the Government.

Riel Again.—One or two white men on the spot who knew the conditions came all the way to Ottawa to press the claims of the settlers; they themselves collected money, and sent representatives, among them their Bishop; but the Government would do nothing Finally a deputation tramped 700 weary miles into Montana where Riel was living quietly, and persuaded him to come back to lead them once again. On the coming of Lord Wolseley, Riel had fled; but in 1871 he had done good service in stopping a Fenian raid, and had got some sort of pardon from the Governor. He was afterwards elected member of parliament for Provencher, but having been outlawed in 1874, he fled to the United States. The return of this stormy petrel should have wakened the Government, but their ears seemed sealed, and on March 26th, 1885, the telegraph flashed the news across Canada that a party of North-West Mounted Police had been repulsed by an armed band of half-breeds at Duck Lake.

The North-West Rebellion.—In 1870, British soldiers had put down the Red River Rebellion; in 1885, Canada had grown strong enough to do her own work. Under the British General Middleton, Canadian soldiers under Canadian officers such as Colonel G. T. Denison and

Colonel Williams, were hastily pushed to the front. The half-breeds were few in number, but in the background was the terrible danger of an Indian rising. Luckily the good treatment of the Indians by the Hudson's Bay Company kept most of them quiet, though a few young braves took the war-path under a chief known as Big Bear, and there was one horrible massacre at Frog Lake. The Rebellion was soon put down, though the



NORTH-WEST REBELLION, 1885

half-breeds fought well, led by Gabriel Dumont, long a noted buffalo hunter and Indian fighter. One detachment under Colonel W. D. Otter made an attack on some Crees under Poundmaker at Cutknife Creek, and was repulsed with loss. At Fish Creek, too, our men were checked, but reinforcements came up, the rebel camp at Batoche was stormed, and a few days afterward Riel was captured, tried on a charge of high treason, found guilty,

and in November, 1885, hanged at Regina. He was no coward, and met his fate without a tremor. At the same time Big Bear and nine other Indians were hanged and certain others given terms of imprisonment. But though our Canadian soldiers fought well, and though Riel deserved his fate, we must not forget that it was the deafness of the Government to the claims of the half-breeds, and not any real disloyalty to Canada on their part, which brought on all the bloodshed and expense.

Edward Blake.—Meanwhile, in 1882 there had been an election, in which the National Policy carried the Conservatives to victory. Mackenzie's unceasing work for Canada had ruined his health, and in 1880 he was succeeded as leader of the Liberals by Edward Blake, a great lawyer, a great orator, and a man of untainted honour, who wrecked his health and his happiness in the service of Canada, but who as a party leader was not a success. He had taken up the idea of Canadian independence and had dropped it; he had resigned from Mackenzie's cabinet, then come back, then resigned again; immersed in his own thoughts, he lacked Macdonald's charm of manner. At this time Mackenzie still advocated Free Trade, while Blake said openly that it "was for us impossible."

The "Gerrymander."—By the British North America Act a census was to be taken in 1871 and every ten years afterwards, and the number of members in each province save Quebec was to be changed in accordance with the new figures. As a result of this rule, in 1881-2 Ontario became entitled to four additional seats. The opponents of Macdonald claimed that, in redistributing the constituencies to make provision for the increase, he had neglected the county boundaries in an endeavour to "hive the Grits," and had "gerrymandered" the province. This term seems to have had its origin in Massachusetts,

where a politician named Gerry so arranged the electoral districts as to give an unfair advantage to his party. Charges of this offence had already been made by the Liberals, especially after the census of 1871, and the Conservatives had made counter charges of similar treatment of themselves by the Ontario legislature. No measure however raised such fierce criticism among its opponents as did the federal bill of 1882. In recent years Canada has followed the British precedent; a committee, composed of members of both parties is appointed, and scope is given to it to work out a plan within certain limits previously announced by the Prime Minister.

Bitterness of Feeling in 1887.—In 1887 the National Policy won him still another victory for the Conservatives. This was a time of intense political bitterness. The French in Quebec had sympathized with the endeavour of Riel to win justice for their compatriots, and his execution had roused them almost to madness. The violence of their language roused equal violence in Ontario, where one of Macdonald's chief supporters used such unwise language as: "We must buckle on our armour; this is a British country, and the sooner we take in hand our French Canadian fellow-subjects and make them British in sentiment and teach them the English language, the less trouble we shall have . . . now is the time that the ballot box will decide this great question before the people, and if that does not supply the remedy in this generation, bayonets will supply it in the next." Settlement in the North-West was not going well; in Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia the provincial Prime Ministers threw all the influence of their governments on the side of the Liberals. In spite of this Macdonald won, though by a lessened majority. "God help poor Canada," said a leading Canadian newspaper.

Unrestricted Reciprocity.—Still trade continued bad: prices were low, and the North-West was not filling up. Things grew worse in 1890, when the United States adopted the McKinley Tariff. The high rates levied by it upon Canadian farm products stopped a large export trade hitherto carried on by the farmers of Ontario and Quebec. To help matters the Government endeavoured to make some such limited reciprocity agreement with the United States as that of Lord Elgin, but failed. The Liberals, desperate at being so long in opposition, took up the cry of commercial union with the United States. At first this was advocated outside Parliament by a number of able men, especially by Goldwin Smith, an eminent Englishman who had come to live in Canada, who said that annexation was written in the stars. Then Sir Richard Cartwright, the Liberal leader in Ontario, came out in favour of commercial union even at the risk of political union. The thought of free trade with so great a market appealed to our farmers, but finding themselves suspected of believing in annexation, the Liberals dropped commercial union and took up unrestricted reciprocity. This was fiercely opposed by the Conservatives, and also by the Imperial Federation League, which had been formed in 1885 by a number of prominent men outside the political field, who proposed as a better remedy for our depression an arrangement for preferential trade with the mother country. In 1891 Sir John Macdonald suddenly dissolved Parliament and brought on a general election. He was anxious for a limited reciprocity treaty, but he denounced the Liberal plan as "veiled treason, which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to allure our people from their allegiance." "A British subject I was born; a British subject I will die," was his cry. Many even of the Liberals felt that unrestricted reciprocity between a country of 4,000,000 people and one of

60,000,000 was a risky experiment. A "Continental Union Association" had been formed, with Goldwin Smith as president, and with such eminent Americans as Theodore Roosevelt among its members. The Conservative battle-cry was, "the old flag, the old leader, and the old policy," and in the election they were again victorious. In Ontario and Quebec the Liberals had small majorities, but Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and British Columbia were almost solid against them, a situation which prompted Sir Richard Cartwright to say that the majority was "a thing of shreds and patches." The Liberal defeat was completed by the publication of a remarkable letter from Blake, who had resigned just before the election, and had refused to run for Parliament. He admitted that unrestricted reciprocity "would give us men, money, and markets," but he also said that "such unrestricted reciprocity can and should come only as an incident, or at any rate as a well understood precursor of political union, for which indeed we should be able to make better terms before than after the surrender of our commercial independence." Though after the election of 1887 he had been replaced as Liberal leader by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Wilfrid Laurier, he was still the ablest and most influential man in the party, and his letter left the Liberals without a policy.

Death of Macdonald.—Later in the year, worn out with the fight, Sir John Macdonald died of paralysis. As his opponent Laurier generously said, it was "as if one of the institutions of the land had given way." He had his faults, public and private; he well knew the various motives that influence men's actions, and was not always scrupulous in his use of them; but for all that Canada lost in him her greatest servant. "Canada is a hard country to govern," he said once, and no man has known so well as he how to carry on the

government and at the same time to bind our different races and provinces together. Faith in British connection, faith in the high destiny of Canada, faith that to that destiny both French and English could contribute much—these were the principles of his life. However much others despaired, he never lost heart, and to those who love much, much may be forgiven.

Break-up of the Conservatives.—He was succeeded by Sir John Abbott, who died in the next year, and was followed by Sir John Thompson, a very able and high-minded Nova Scotia lawyer. By this time scandals which were mooted just before Sir John's death, were beginning to gather about the Government; most of the dishonest contractors and low-class professional politicians had attached themselves to the party so long in power. To these rascals Thompson was determined to show no mercy, but in 1894 he dropped dead of heart disease in Windsor Castle just after an interview with Queen Victoria. He was succeeded by Sir Mackenzie Bowell. An attempt was made to hush up the scandals, but it only brought them more prominently forward.

Refusal to Admit Newfoundland into the Dominion.—In 1895 Bowell and his Finance Minister, Mr. George Foster, made the greatest blunder since Confederation and rejected the offer of Newfoundland to enter the Dominion. In 1895 the island had had a succession of bad sea harvests; both the local banks had failed, one paying only five cents on the dollar; its railways were unfinished; and it was practically bankrupt. In these circumstances a deputation came to Ottawa to ask for union with Canada; but the Government haggled over the amount of their debt which we should take over, and the Newfoundland delegates went away in a rage. When we think of how much Newfoundland would mean

to us whether in peace or war, we may indeed wish that the man who had given "better terms" to Nova Scotia could have come back for one hour.

The Liberal Victory.—At last, in 1896, this broken-down Government was turned out of power. In 1890 Manitoba had abolished the Roman Catholic separate schools. The Catholics claimed that these were granted to them by the Act of 1870 which established the province, but as the separate schools were not established till 1871, their rights could not be enforced at law. An appeal to the British Privy Council decided that the Dominion Parliament had the right under the British North America Act to pass what is known as remedial legislation. Instead of consulting with the province and coming to a friendly arrangement, the Dominion Government proceeded at once to pass an order re-establishing separate schools in Manitoba. Sir Mackenzie Bowell's position was very difficult; for he himself was an Orangeman, and the Conservatives in Ontario had lately been seeking to curtail the separate schools in that province. Just before the opening of Parliament in 1896, seven of the ministers resigned, greatly to the anger of the Premier, who said that for months he had been living in a "nest of traitors." Sir Charles Tupper then came back as Prime Minister from London, where he had been Canadian High Commissioner. If any man could have saved the situation it was this splendid old veteran, but the great Liberal-Conservative party had gone hopelessly to pieces. The Prime Ministers of Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia came to the help of Laurier, and after eighteen years of opposition the general election of 1896 was won by the Liberals.

CHAPTER XXX

ONTARIO, 1867–1913

Sandfield Macdonald.—The first Premier of Ontario after Confederation was the Honourable John Sandfield Macdonald, formerly Prime Minister of Canada. After his appointment, the two Macdonalds, "John S." and "John A.," "hunted in couples," and thus, though his Cabinet included both Liberals and Conservatives, the majority of the Liberals of the province formed an opposition against him. For four years Sandfield Macdonald gave Ontario honest and economical government, and by 1871 had piled up a surplus of $4,000,000. In the general election of that year he had against him Edward Blake and Alexander Mackenzie, who were at this time members of both the Dominion and the Provincial House; John A. Macdonald, who would have helped him, was away at Washington. One of his last acts, persuading the House to vote $1,500,000 in aid of railways, to be spent by the Cabinet as it wished, caused much dissatisfaction. Sandfield was sure of success; he could not believe that a government so economical as his did not please the people; thus in December, though eight of his followers were unable to attend, he called parliament together, was defeated by a single vote, and was compelled to resign. The Liberals now came into power and held it for the next thirty-three years. For a few months Mr. Edward Blake was Premier of the province, but when an Act was passed in 1872 preventing members from belonging to both Houses, he resigned from the Provincial House, and his place as Premier of Ontario

was taken by the Honourable (afterwards Sir) Oliver Mowat (1820–1903).

Oliver Mowat.— Mr. Mowat had been born in Kingston, where he had been a law student in the same office with John A. Macdonald. In 1864 he was one of three Liberals who entered the Cabinet of Sir E. P. Taché, and had thus the honour of being one of the Fathers of Confederation. In the same year he resigned from the Cabinet to become a judge, but in 1872 left the Bench to become Premier of Ontario, a position he held till 1896. He was of the same type of mind as his predecessor, Sandfield Macdonald, and gave the province the same type of government, thrifty, honest, and cautious, though rather more progressive.



SIR OLIVER MOWAT

Cameron and Meredith.—In the year of Mowat's appointment Sandfield Macdonald died, and was succeeded as Conservative leader by Mr. M. C. Cameron, who in 1878 was appointed a judge, and was succeeded as leader by Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. R. Meredith, who remained leader till 1894, when he also went on the Bench. Both Cameron and Meredith were honourable and high-minded men, either of whom would have governed Ontario well. Both were eminent lawyers who entered parliament at great financial loss to themselves. But it was their misfortune that the province already had in Mowat a Premier with whom she was satisfied. At one election at least the Liberal battle-cry did not con-

cern itself with principles but simply said, "Ontario cannot afford to dismiss Sir Oliver Mowat."

The Municipal Loan Fund.—On coming into office the Liberals found themselves in possession of a surplus, which, after some discussion, they wisely devoted to helping the municipalities. Many of the Ontario municipalities were deeply in debt to the province. In 1852 Sir Francis Hincks had formed what was called the Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund, the object of which was to enable the municipalities to borrow money cheaply. Money was borrowed by the province at six per cent., and then loaned out to the municipalities at eight per cent., which was at that time a low rate. This was the period of railway building, and many of the small municipalities went into debt to the province far more than they could ever pay, and then gave the money in subsidies to railways which they hoped would increase their prosperity, but which in many cases went bankrupt. Some municipalities found themselves unable to pay the interest on the loan, and the government did not dare to take strong measures for fear they would retaliate by returning a member of the opposition. Seeing that no pressure was put on them to collect the interest, even those municipalities which could pay failed to do so, and by 1873 they were in debt to the province about $12,000,000. In that year a series of resolutions was introduced into the House by the Premier, by which some of the municipalities were made to pay up; others were made to pay a part; and the rest were let off. The provincial surplus was distributed among them in grants for hospitals, schools, courthouses, town-halls, railways, roads, bridges, etc. Thus the government took a great weight off many parts of the province and started them on a new career of prosperity.

Provincial Rights.—But the great struggle on which Ontario now had to enter was for her provincial rights. Sir

John Macdonald's ideal was a great and united Canada, governed by her best men sitting at Ottawa. It did not take away from the attractiveness of this ideal, that at the head of the best men he doubtless saw himself. To Mowat the province was still a great and important state, which had given up some of its rights to the Dominion, but held others in full independence. Mr. Cameron and Mr. Meredith took the side of Sir John Macdonald, and Sir Oliver Mowat was able to pose as the provincial champion, and thus to put them at a great disadvantage in the elections.

The Boundary Disputes.—There were various matters on which the Province and the Dominion quarrelled, such as the rights over rivers and over liquor licenses, but the great dispute was over the northern and western boundary of Ontario.

Quarrels between Ontario and Manitoba.—Till 1791 Ontario had been part of the province of Quebec. By the Quebec Act in 1774 the western boundary of the province had been defined as running from the junction of the rivers Ohio and Mississippi "northward to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the merchant adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay." Part of this land was now in the territory of the United States. The question at issue in dividing the remainder was, what was the meaning of the word "northward?" Sir John Macdonald claimed that it meant "due north," which would have cut off Ontario about six miles east of Port Arthur; Mowat claimed that it meant "in a northerly direction along the Mississippi River to its source, and then only due north." They were in dispute also as to the southern boundary of the Hudson Bay Territory, Macdonald claiming that this was the Height of Land between the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay and those flowing into the St. Lawrence,

and Mowat that it ran some three hundred miles farther north. The matter was referred to three arbitrators, who decided unanimously in favour of Ontario, and ran the northern boundary from the Winnipeg River along the English River, Lac Seul, Lake St. Joseph, the Albany River, and James Bay, 332 miles north of the Height of Land, thus more than doubling the area of the province. This decision the Dominion Government ignored, and passed a bill giving to the province of Manitoba part of the territory which the arbitrators had awarded to Ontario. The result was that the Ontario District of Algoma and the Manitoba constituency of Varennes overlapped, and in 1883 the provinces came into collision over some lumber cutters near Rat Portage (now Kenora). The Manitoba police arrested an Ontario bar-tender; the Ontario police then arrested the Manitoba police; Manitoba then sent in troops; but enough good nature was shown on both sides to prevent further trouble. The matter was submitted to the Imperial Privy Council, with the result that the judgment of the arbitrators was confirmed and Ontario put in possession.

Dispute about Crown Lands.—The question then arose whether the Crown Lands in this part of Ontario were under the Province or under the Dominion. Sir John Macdonald claimed that they had belonged to the Indians and had passed with the other Indian rights to the Dominion. On one occasion he assured a Toronto audience that "even if all the territory Mr. Mowat asks were awarded to Ontario, there is not one stick of timber, one acre of land, or one lump of lead, iron, or coal that does not belong to the Dominion Government." This question was also referred to the Privy Council, and their decision confirmed the title of Ontario to the lands. "The little Premier," as Mowat was called, had thus beaten Macdonald all along the line.

Development of Education.—The most important matter left to the provinces by the British North America Act is education. Ontario already had a school system built up by Dr. Ryerson, and in 1871 attendance was made compulsory. In 1872 an Agricultural College, which had been planned by Sandfield Macdonald, was opened at Guelph and did much to encourage scientific farming. In 1876, after a life of useful service, Ryerson resigned, and the Government, instead of appointing a new superintendent, decided to place education under the control of a Minister, with a seat in the Provincial Cabinet. As Ministers of Education, both the Honourable Adam Crooks and the Honourable (afterwards Sir) George Ross did excellent work. Provision for Protestant and Roman Catholic Separate Schools had been made in the Common Schools Act of 1841. This provision was discussed from time to time and changes made in the law; but in 1863, after a struggle extending over twenty-two years, a Separate School Bill was passed granting to Roman Catholics the right to separate schools, the ratepayers in any municipality being allowed to decide whether to contribute to the public or to the separate schools of the province. Various amendments were made in this system from time to time, and in 1886 the opposition accused Mowat of having given to the Roman Catholic Church more than was right. The book of selected passages from the Bible for reading in schools, which had been prepared by the Minister of Education, was said to have been mutilated by the Roman Catholic Archbishop, though the Archbishop's only suggestion was that in the Lord's Prayer "who" might be substituted for "which." Ontario had had enough of these religious quarrels, and Mowat was returned at the elections.

Good Work of Sir Oliver Mowat.—From this time on, his position as Premier was never seriously in danger. In 1896 he accepted the position of Minister of Justice in the Dominion Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the Premiership of Ontario passed to his lieutenant, the Honourable A. S. Hardy. In the honest, humdrum work of keeping the laws up to date, laws about schools, transfer of property, and all the hundred other things that make up our ordinary life, Mowat's Government had been good. It codified the Municipal Act; it passed the Crooks Act, the first of a series of measures which slowly reduced the terrible amount of drinking which had gone on in the province; for almost twenty-five years it gave Ontario honest and thrifty administration. In this work Mowat was helped by able men, of whom Ross and Crooks have been already mentioned; to their names we must add that of Mr. Christopher Fraser, Minister of Public Works, than whom the province has had no more wise or faithful servant.

The Successors of Mowat.—Mr. Hardy remained Premier till 1899, when ill-health forced him to resign in favour of Sir George Ross. These successors of Sir Oliver Mowat did much good work.

1. They improved the municipal system.

2. They voted large sums of money for the improvement of the roads of the province, which had long been torn by winter frosts, washed away by spring floods, and very imperfectly repaired.

3. They opened up Northern Ontario. It was long supposed that in the country won for us by Sir Oliver Mowat, north of the Height of Land which separates the rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence from those flowing into Hudson or James Bay, there was nothing but rock and lake, fit only for the hunter or fisher; but in this despised region a splendid belt of clay soil was found,

and in 1901 the Government, in order to open it up, began to build into it, from North Bay on the Canadian Pacific Railway, a provincial railway known as the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario.

Victory of the Conservatives.—The Liberals had been in power for thirty-three years, and though the administration was not inefficient, the province felt that a change would be for the better. In January, 1905, at a general election, the Conservatives under Mr. (afterwards Sir) James P. Whitney,* won by a large majority, and soon gave to the administration a new energy which showed them worthy of the choice of the province.



Sir James P. Whitney

Improvements in Education.—The education system was improved, and aided with far larger grants of money. New Normal Schools for the better training of teachers were established; measures were taken to raise salaries, which had been so low that many of our best teachers had gone to the West. Continuation Schools were established in the rural districts, so that pupils unable to attend a High School could get practically the same training in a Continuation School. A system of industrial and elementary technical education was established. The University of Toronto was put

*Sir James P. Whitney died on September 25th, 1914, and was succeeded by Mr. (now Sir) William H. Hearst.

under a Board of Governors, and Parliament agreed to give it yearly one half of the succession duties, a sum of about $400,000 or $500,000 a year. At the same time the School of Practical Science in Toronto was made one of its Faculties, and the Provincial University took such a leap forward that it now trains over 4,000 students, of whom over 1,000 graduate yearly. Meanwhile Queen's University at Kingston had also grown till it now has about 1,600 students.

The Hydro-Electric Commission.—In 1906 the Hydro-Electric Commission was appointed, with the Honourable Adam Beck as its first chairman. Just as, at the end of the eighteenth century, the discovery of steam and of the possibility of smelting iron by the use of coal brought about what is known as "The Industrial Revolution," with the growth of factories, of great cities, and of so much that is distinctive in our modern life; so toward the end of the nineteenth century, industry was transformed by the discovery that water-power could be harnessed, and used to generate electricity, a vaster power than steam. No country in the world has such water-powers as Canada, and the discovery of this "white coal" has begun to change the whole face of Ontario. From Niagara and from other falls various companies began to generate power, but in 1906 a number of the municipalities of Ontario combined to provide power for themselves, in order to save the profits paid to the companies. With the help of the Government their combination grew into the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, which represents most of the municipalities of western Ontario, is gradually being joined by more and more in the centre and east, and now supplies most of the power of this type used in the province.

The Railway and Municipal Board.—In the same year (1906) a Railway and Municipal Board was ap-

pointed, to decide questions at issue between railways, especially electric railways, and the municipalities. We thus see that in Ontario as in the Dominion we are finding the value of government by Commission.

Local Option.—The laws regulating the liquor traffic were strengthened, especially in the rural districts, where, under a system known as Local Option, many of the municipalities have entirely prohibited the sale of intoxicants. In order to ensure the proper observance of so strict a law, and to prevent the frequent changes that might result from adoption by a bare majority, this system may not be adopted by a municipality, till three fifths of the electors have voted in its favour. Many people hold that even this is not sufficient restriction of the liquor traffic, and further laws are being discussed by both political parties.

Development of New Ontario.—In 1903, as a construction gang was working on the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, a navvy stubbed his toe upon what proved to be a lump of almost pure silver; his discovery was followed up, and the province found that it possessed one of the greatest silver fields of the world. The centre of this industry is at Cobalt, 338 miles from Toronto, and 103 from North Bay, and discoveries of gold since made further north at Porcupine and other points show that Ontario has yet to realize the fullness of her riches. The provincial government collects a large income from the taxes paid on the silver taken out and, in 1911, to aid the development of New Ontario, as this new north land is now called, it voted $5,000,000.

Increase of Territory.—The provincial railway, the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario, by 1910 had reached Cochrane, where it connects with the National Transcontinental Railway. In 1912, after much negotiation

with the Dominion and with Manitoba, Ontario obtained possession of the territory now called the District of Patricia, with an area of 146,410 square miles, making the total area of the province 407,262 square miles. She was also granted a strip of territory five miles in width, lying between the District of Patricia and the Nelson River, to be located within fifty miles of the Hudson Bay coast, and a strip one half mile in width and five miles in length, to be located along the south shore of the Nelson River. These give access to Nelson on Hudson Bay, and afford ample harbour facilities and railway terminals. The railway will now be pushed ahead to this point.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE OTHER PROVINCES, 1867–1913

The Maritime Provinces

The three Maritime Provinces have on the whole profited least by Confederation, and in Nova Scotia as late as 1886 Mr. W. S. Fielding, then Premier, won a general election on the platform of the repeal of the British North America Act, though after his victory nothing was done. The population has grown but slowly, owing first to the lure of the United States, and later of our own West, and in Prince Edward Island it has actually decreased. Men and women have been born and lived and died, and had their joys and sorrows, but of history there has been little. The Maritime Provinces have, however, kept alive in the Dominion that love of the sea which is naturally lacking in all the other provinces except British Columbia, and with the growth of Canadian interest in the navy, their part in the Dominion will increase in importance.

Nova Scotia.—Lumbering, farming, and the West Indian trade were long the chief industries of Nova Scotia, but since 1893 the formation of the Dominion Coal Company has given a great impetus to mining in Cape Breton, and this part of the province, long the poorest, now supplies more than half its revenue. Sydney, the centre of the industry, has risen since 1893 from a little country town of 3,000 to be a city of 30,000, and a great steel-making industry has grown up beside the coal. The

province has a good school system and a number of small universities, of which Dalhousie, at Halifax, is the most important. In 1902 the province established in connection with it, a well-equipped Technical College.

Prince Edward Island.—In Prince Edward Island the main industries are farming and fishing. Its fertility makes it a veritable garden, and much produce is exported to Nova Scotia and to Newfoundland. Wasteful methods have greatly injured the fishing, especially for oysters and lobsters; but the Provincial and Dominion Governments are uniting to carry out the recommendations of the Dominion Commission of Conservation, and an improvement is probable. In 1887 the industry of fur-farming was founded in the Island, and since 1910 has greatly increased in extent. Few furs are more valuable than that of the black fox. It has been found possible to import live foxes of this colour into the Island, and to keep them in captivity. The cubs are carefully reared, and large profits are being made from their sale. The great political question in the province is that, whereas by the Act of Union with Canada it was guaranteed regular communication with the mainland, the ice-breaking steamers which are supposed to keep open a channel during the winter are not powerful enough, and hardly a winter passes but one of them is frozen in, and the Island cut off for days or weeks. There is a perpetual agitation for a tunnel between the Island and the mainland, but the cost would be greater than the whole value of the Island, and it is not likely to be built, though an attempt is being made to provide better steamers.

New Brunswick.—In New Brunswick the main industry is still lumbering, and its great forests are the paradise of sportsmen. The lordly moose, the largest of the deer tribe, was for a time in danger of sharing the fate of the buffalo; but the province has wisely made and enforced

strict game laws, which preserve a sufficient number of the wild creatures while allowing good sport to the hunter. Between St. John and Halifax there has been great rivalry for the position of the chief Atlantic port of Canada, and the traffic done by both is steadily increasing in volume. Both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have had bitter religious quarrels over their school systems, but a compromise has for many years been in operation; by it the Roman Catholics have in practice certain privileges, though in theory separate schools do not exist.

Quebec

The Conservative Régime.—Since Confederation the boundaries of Quebec have been several times enlarged, and in 1912 most of the Territory of Ungava was added to it. For nineteen of the twenty years after Confederation, the Conservatives, or *Bleus*, who were backed by the Church, held power. During this time Quebec was too often the prey of the office seeker and the "grafter." When one office was needed, two were frequently created, one for a Frenchman, one for an Englishman, who was sometimes a Protestant, sometimes an Irish Catholic.

Chauveau.—The first Premier was Mr. P. J. Chauveau, who, like Sandfield Macdonald in Ontario, had been a Liberal, but who now joined the Liberal-Conservatives. He had written stirring poetry about the Rebellion of 1837, had afterwards been for many years Chief Superintendent of Education, and was personally a man of stainless honour. No one could have been more fitted to please both French and English, Catholic and Protestant. But the grafters were too strong for him. A typical incident occurred when it was proved that Mr. Cauchon, a member of the Cabinet, had

while a member of the Legislature secretly owned the Beauport Asylum for the Insane near Quebec, and had drawn about $15,000 a year from an institution largely supported by the province.

Letellier de St. Just.—A few years later occurred a very interesting quarrel. In 1876 the Dominion Government appointed as Lieutenant-governor Mr. Letellier de St. Just, a strong Liberal. At this time the chief question under discussion in the Legislature was the North Shore Railway from Montreal to Quebec, promises of aid to which had been given both by the province and by the municipalities through which it was to pass. As a result of corruption in the Legislature, its route was altered so often that some municipalities refused to pay up, whereupon the Government introduced a bill forcing them to pay, and granting authority to take the money from them if they refused. This was passed through the House without a word of consultation with Mr. Letellier, and as it was the last of several instances of discourtesy, he angrily dismissed his ministry. Instead, however, of taking the ground that they had behaved corruptly, he gave as his reason that they had treated him in a manner "contrary to the rights and prerogatives of the Crown." The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Joly, whom he then called upon to form a Government, held a general election but was sustained by a majority of only one.

His Dismissal.—Mr. Joly was an honest and able man, but as a Protestant born in France he was somewhat suspect by both the *habitant* and the Church. He proceeded to enforce rigid economy; unnecessary offices were done away with, and the salaries of ministers reduced. Unfortunately, economy proved more popular to preach than to practise, and in the next year he was defeated. Meanwhile the Conservatives had come into

power at Ottawa, and the French members forced Sir John Macdonald to recommend to the Governor-general the dismissal of Mr. Letellier. Unquestionably on the ground which he had given, the right of the Lieutenant-governor to dismiss his ministers was doubtful; on the other hand, by giving Mr. Joly a majority, though of only one, the people of Quebec had approved his action. The Governor-general, who sympathized with Letellier, referred the matter to the British Government, but they naturally refused to interfere, and Letellier was dismissed, to die the next year of a broken heart.

Mercier.—In 1886 the Liberals aroused the anger of the *habitants* against the Conservatives by denouncing the refusal of the Government at Ottawa to reprieve Riel, and at a general election they came into power under Mr. Honoré Mercier, a brilliant orator, skilled to sway the people. Under him "Nationalism" became a power in Canadian politics. While we all hope that the French race has much to add to the richness of our national life, that is a very different thing from the "nationalism" of Mr. Mercier, which often seemed to claim for the province of Quebec a special and paramount place in the Dominion. Mr. Mercier was also, if possible, more extravagant than his predecessors.

The Jesuit Estates Act.—In 1888, by the Jesuit Estates Act, Mercier set all Canada by the ears. The Jesuit Order had been abolished by the Pope in 1773, and its Canadian estates had become the property of the Crown. It was afterwards (1814) revived by the Pope, but the British Government did not return the estates, which at Confederation passed to the province. In 1888 Mr. Mercier's Government awarded to the Jesuits, in payment for the loss of this property, $400,000, to be distributed by the Pope; at the same time, to make things even, $60,000 extra was granted to Protestant schools.

This calling in of the Pope to divide Canadian money among Canadians bitterly angered Ontario, and a motion was made in the Dominion Parliament to repeal the provincial law; but the majority felt that whether the Act was wise or unwise it was the business of the province alone, and only thirteen voted for its disallowance, "the devil's dozen," as Sir John Macdonald called them,—"the noble thirteen," as they were called by others.

Dismissal of Mercier.—In 1891 Mr. Mercier and other ministers were proved to have taken money in connection with the Chaleur Bay Railway, and were dismissed from office by the Lieutenant-governor; but though this action was very like that of Mr. Letellier, every one felt that Mr. Mercier's conduct was too bad to be defended, and in the ensuing election the Conservatives won by a large majority.

Improvements in Government.—By this time both parties felt that this disgraceful state of affairs must come to an end, and both joined in establishing a more honest and efficient government. The making of paper from pulp-wood has become a great industry, and has been wisely aided by the province. In education, the gifts of many generous men, such as Lord Strathcona and Sir William Macdonald, have made McGill University one of the best in the world in medicine and in all branches of practical science; by the foundation at Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue of a great Agricultural College in connection with McGill, Sir William Macdonald has greatly raised the standard of farming, and the province has wisely co-operated, especially in dairying. The present Liberal Government under Sir Lomer Gouin has governed the province honestly, has developed the country by large contributions to the building of good roads, and has improved education by building technical schools in Montreal and Quebec and by trying to raise the absurdly

low salaries of teachers in the rural districts. Whichever party is in power, we shall have no repetition of the days of Cauchon and Mercier. There is still a "nationalist" party, with, however, a more moderate programme than that of Mercier, and its leader, Mr. Henri Bourassa, has always stood manfully for honest and progressive administration.

Manitoba

Manitoba was long the stormy petrel of Dominion politics. First came the Rebellion; then the various questions connected with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway; then a long but successful fight with that railway (which by its contract had been given a monopoly), for the right to allow American lines to enter the province; then the question of separate schools (1890-96). Since then the province has steadily gone ahead. Whereas in 1885 it had but one line of rails, it has now a network of railways equalled only by Ontario. In 1912 its boundaries were extended to the north to give it access to James Bay and Hudson Bay, and there is no cloud upon the sun of its prosperity.

Alberta and Saskatchewan

The North-West Mounted Police.—In the West the great feature has been the creation of two new provinces. From 1870 to 1880, in the country between Manitoba and the Rockies, the Indians were being plied with liquor by lawless fur-traders. Bands of American Indians, especially of the warlike Sioux, fled across the border to claim the protection of the British flag. In 1874 the North-West Mounted Police Force was established, and there is no finer record in Canadian history than that of this band of heroes, who kept order in all this vast region, administered impartial law to red man and white

alike, and made the history of our West so peaceful and quiet compared to that of the American West, with its Indian wars, its "Bad Men," and its sordid lawlessness. In the year of its establishment the men marched from near Winnipeg to the base of the Rockies where, among the Blackfeet Indians, Colonel Macleod was left to destroy the illicit traffic in whisky. They were at first about 300 in number, but were gradually increased to 1,000, and made their headquarters at the newly-established Fort Regina. Many, for a time most, of the "Riders of the Plains" were young Englishmen, who had found the home land too narrow for their roving instincts. For many years they were all in all to the West, filling every position from that of fire patrol to that of impromptu doctor, or journeying hundreds of miles amid trackless snows to arrest a criminal. No matter how deep the snow, no matter how far the ride, no matter how fierce and wily the Indian or the American gambler, the Police saw that the law was observed. Their noble record is one of the glories of Canadian history. A hundred stories could be told of their daring and skill, a hundred of their gentleness and willing help to the pioneers, not one to their shame.

Growth of the West.—As population grew, the Dominion set aside from the vast areas of the West four territories, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabaska (1882), with certain rights of self-government, but under greater control from Ottawa than the provinces. They were policed by the North-West Mounted Police, who during the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway kept order among the navvies and soothed the fluttered and suspicious Indians. In 1905 population had so increased that the four territories were formed into two provinces, most of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan being united into the province of Saskatchewan, and most of

the other two into Alberta. When this bill was brought into the Dominion House of Commons, there was a great struggle over the schools. The Conservatives wished to leave the new provinces free to decide on their own system; the Roman Catholic Church was anxious to see separate schools established. The Liberal Government finally decided upon a plan which gives that Church certain privileges, though much less than she had desired. School systems have been set up, which compare favourably with those of the older provinces. It is said that in 1910 and 1911 a school-house a day was built in each province. At Saskatoon and Edmonton, provincial universities have been founded, with widely extended grounds, large endowments, and great plans for the future. At Calgary, two hundred miles south of Edmonton, a college has been founded which is expected to develop into an independent university. New experiments in legislation are being tried, chiefly with a view to prevent the keeping of land out of cultivation by speculators. The heroic period of the West is over; the day of the Indian and the buffalo is gone, and that of the Police is passing; but there is a deeper romance in the silent growth of the food of millions, and as real a heroism in the men who make wise laws, and who build schools and universities to prevent the thoughts of the immigrants from being absorbed in the mere struggle for money.

British Columbia

British Columbia has as its chief industries lumbering, fruit farming, mining, and the canning of salmon. No part of Canada is more interesting than this Pacific Province with its varied resources, its delightful climate, its wild mountains and fertile valleys, its long indented

sea-coast, which recalls the celebrated fiords of Norway and the tales of the old sea-rovers. Its chief problem has been that of the supply of labour. For a time it was hoped to solve this by allowing Oriental immigration under restrictions, but the desire to keep the province the home of a white race has been too strong to allow of this solution. Many of the present labour organizations are affiliated with those of the United States, and the province has more than once been hampered by labour quarrels which were really produced by quarrels beyond her borders. The provincial history was long a story of squabbles; quarrels between rival firms of canners, and between Canadian masters and Indian or Japanese workmen; quarrels between owners and men in the mines and the smelters; quarrels between the fruit farmers and the railways, which would not build the desired branches. But these quarrels are now at an end, and the Pacific Province is advancing as fast as any province in the Dominion. An energetic policy of road-making and of railway construction is being pursued, and the central and northern parts of the province are being rapidly opened up.

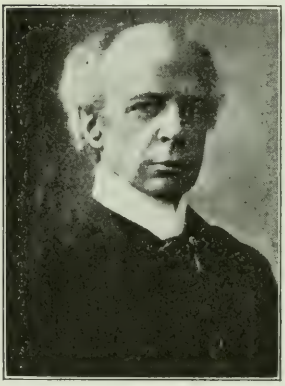
CHAPTER XXXII

The Dominion, 1896–1913

Preferential Trade.—No man had studied the career of Sir John Macdonald with more attention than Mr. Laurier, and though a new party was in power, the principles of the old leader were continued. In Opposition the Liberals had advocated Free Trade, but they soon found that too violent a change would upset the business of the country, and though they modified the National Policy, they did not reverse it. Mr. Laurier had always said that commercial union with Great Britain would be better than with the United States, if it could be obtained, and in 1897 his Finance Minister, the Honourable W. S. Fielding, brought in a tariff of which the most striking feature was a reduction in the duties on all articles imported from Great Britain. This preference was in the next year increased to twenty-five per cent., and in 1900 to thirty-three and one third per cent. It was from the first very popular; Canadians felt that at last we were doing something for the land which had done so much for us. Not only did it make British goods cheaper, but by increasing the amount of them used, it enabled the ships which carried our wheat and cattle to England to bring back a return cargo.

The Colonial Conferences.—By this time the British spirit of "Little Englandism," of which we have spoken, had passed away, and had been succeeded by a spirit of Imperialism, which aimed at the closer union of the Empire. In 1887 the first Colonial Conference was held in London, at which representatives from all the self-governing colonies met those of Great Britain, to talk

over the affairs of the Empire; in 1894 the second was held in Ottawa, on the invitation of the Canadian Government; the third in London, in 1897, during the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, when that great sovereign celebrated the sixtieth year of her reign. At this Mr. Laurier, who in this year was knighted, was by far the most picturesque figure, and won the heart of many a British audience by eloquent speeches in which he told them of Canadian loyalty to British ideals and British connection. He was at this time urged by prominent members of the British Government to offer Great Britain free admission of British manufactures into Canada in return for a preference to our farm products in the British market, but this he cautiously declined to do. In the next year, however, Sir William Mulock, then our Postmaster-general, in spite of the opposition of many British officials, succeeded in persuading both the mother country and the great colonies to introduce a two-cent postage rate on letters. This does not sound exciting, but it meant that thousands of people throughout the Empire could now write to each other two or three times as often as before, and were thus two or three times as closely united. It was a real link of Empire, which was followed up some years later by Mr. Lemieux, Sir William's successor, who made an arrangement with Great Britain allowing newspapers and magazines to be sent at a much cheaper rate.



Sir Wilfrid Laurier

The South African War

But Canada's loyalty to the Empire was to be shown in ways more arduous than the granting of a trade preference. The relations between Great Britain and the Dutch-speaking Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in South Africa had long been unsatisfactory, and in September, 1899, war broke out between them. At once a wave of enthusiasm swept over the Empire, for the first time since the great Pitt, all Britons thrilled with a common enthusiasm. In sea-girt New Zealand, on lonely Australian sheep farms, on the prairies and the mountains of Canada, the young nations heard the call of the blood. Many Canadians volunteered for service, and in October the British Government sent a request for an official contingent of infantry to be raised in Canada, to be taken over and paid by Great Britain as soon as it reached South Africa.

The Canadian Contingent.—To provide such a contingent was a new thing for us to do. Canadians had often before fought well for the Empire, but never before had our Government officially taken part in the Empire's wars. Volunteers had been raised for the Crimean War; in 1884-5 recruits, including a body of *voyageurs*, had been sent to the war in the Sudan; but the Government itself had taken no official action. To send troops to South Africa was thus a new departure. What made the matter more difficult was that Parliament at the time was not in session. English-speaking Canada was hot for war, while many of the French sympathized with a small nation struggling as their fathers had done against the might of Great Britain. One of their leaders, Mr. Henri Bourassa, resigned his seat in Parliament as a protest against any action by the Government before Parliament was called together, but the cry from Ontario

and the West was too strong to be resisted. The Cabinet resolved to send 1,000 men, and on October 30th the first Canadian contingent, recruited at various points in every province from Vancouver to Halifax, sailed from Quebec. In the war which followed our Canadian troops did well, and no matter how long the march, always came into camp with a cheery song.

Paardeberg.—Early in 1900, they took part under Lord Roberts in the relief of Kimberley, and the chase of General Cronje. The Boer leader had been lying on the north side of the Modder River between the British and Kimberley, but a flank movement compelled him to break up camp and make a dash for safety along the river. At Paardeberg he was brought to bay, and here on February 18th, 1900, the Canadians had their first experience of real warfare. They had been for twenty-four hours under arms; they had marched twenty-four miles, and during all this time had had no food save in a few cases a cup of coffee or a sip from a flask. Toward evening, after a long day's fighting, a British regiment came up, and their colonel "proposed finishing this business with the bayonet." Not to be outdone, the Canadians also fixed bayonets and charged, but though a gallant rush brought them to the very edge of the Boer entrenchments, no human valour could face the fire that beat upon them, and Canadian and Briton alike had to fall back. Canada heard with pride and sorrow that on that day twenty of her sons had been killed, and eighty wounded. During the night General Cronje made another attempt at flight, but was again brought to bay, and on February 27th, the anniversary of the British defeat at Majuba Hill nineteen years before, a dashing attack in the early dawn brought the Canadians up to within eighty yards of the Boer trenches. That second charge cost them over forty killed and wounded, but it

did its work, and on the same day the Boer general surrendered.

The Second Contingent.—Meanwhile another Canadian contingent of Mounted Rifles and Artillery, about 1,320 in number, had sailed under command of Colonels Lessard and Herchmer. One of the batteries under Major Hudon was sent by sea from Cape Town to Beira in Portuguese East Africa, and by a series of forced marches across country was in time to join the forces which relieved Colonel Baden-Powell, the gallant defender of Mafeking. Both the first and second contingents shared in Lord Roberts' march from Bloemfontein to Pretoria, and saw hard fighting at Doornkop and other battles.

Strathcona's Horse.—Early in January, 1900, Lord Strathcona, who had succeeded Sir Charles Tupper as High Commissioner, offered to equip a regiment of 500 Rough Riders at his own expense. This generous offer was gladly accepted, and in March Strathcona's Horse, which had been recruited in the West, embarked at Halifax under Colonel Steele, and did good service during the campaign. The Canadian Government also undertook to garrison Halifax, thus releasing the British regiment there for South African service.

Liberal Victory in 1900.—Toward the end of the war, however, while many Canadians were recruited for British corps, our official contingents came home, and others were not sent out. Many felt bitter at the withdrawal of our Government from the fight, at our allowing our sons to go but refusing to pay their way. But Sir Wilfrid Laurier, like Macdonald, knew that Canada was a hard country to govern, and felt that to go further might antagonize Quebec. In the general election at the end of 1900 he was attacked in Quebec as being too English, in Ontario as being lukewarm; and though

he spoke eloquently on "the pride of the consciousness of our rising strength," and hoped that the war in which they had fought in common might bind together the two races, in Ontario he was left in a minority. In Quebec, however, the French Prime Minister was invincible and carried fifty seats out of sixty-five, and over the whole country the Liberals were in a large majority.

The Alaska Boundary Dispute

Gold in the Yukon.—Soon after the end of the war in which we had helped England, a boundary dispute with the United States occurred in which England helped us. Though the Church of England had for many years maintained missionaries in the Yukon Territory, and though miners had been hunting for gold in the river beds, few Canadians in 1895 could have told whether the Yukon was in Alaska or in Keewatin. But in that year some rich strikes of gold were made, and the Canadian Government sent in a detachment of Mounted Police to keep order. In 1896, gold was found in great quantities on the river Klondike. Once in, the winter snows on the mountain passes prevented egress, but at last in 1897 the ice broke up, and a little steamer started up the Yukon with a ton and a half of gold in the purser's cabin, and with blankets full of gold dust lying about the deck. When this precious freight, worth over $900,000, reached Seattle, the whole of the Pacific slope went wild, and in the spring of 1898 there was a rush into Dawson City, the headquarters of the diggings, which recalled the old days in California. Over the mountain passes, deep in snow, went men and women, carrying on their backs food, clothing, all that they possessed. Among them the North-West Mounted Police went to and fro, and kept the Queen's peace as they had done on the plains; and

whereas in California law and order had been defied, whereas at this very time in the Alaskan diggings men were shot down in broad daylight in the open street, in Dawson City life and property were as secure as in Montreal.

The Lynn Canal.—Into this new territory everybody and everything had to go through the two Alaskan ports of Dyea and Skagway, at the head of a long arm of the sea called the Lynn Canal, and though we were given the privilege of bringing goods through "in bond," it was not pleasant thus to be dependent on a foreign power. An attempt was made to find an overland route from Edmonton, but it proved impossible, and more than one man who tried it died of starvation and scurvy among the snow and the mountains. Then the question was raised whether Dyea and Skagway did not really belong to us.

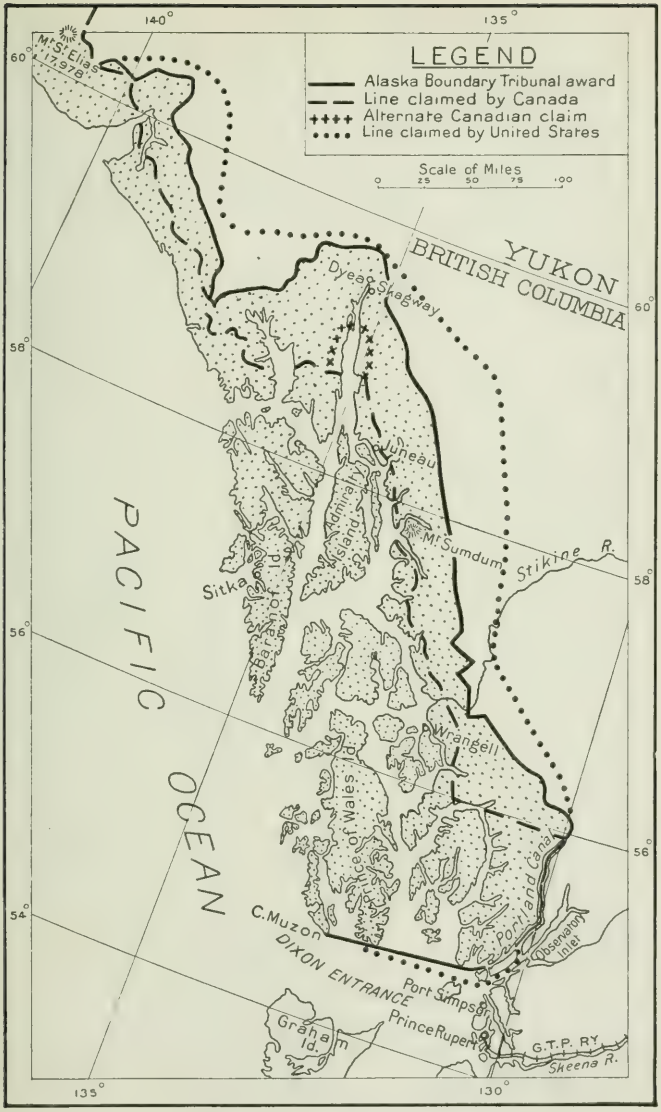
The Alaska Boundary.—Ever since the journey of Simon Fraser, (1805-7), the Hudson's Bay Company had been pushing its operations westward across the Rockies, and since the foundation of Astoria had been seeking for furs along the Pacific Coast. Meanwhile the Russian-American Fur-trading Company had been pushing southward from Sitka; and in 1825, to avoid a collision, Great Britain and Russia settled by treaty the boundary between New Caledonia and Alaska. Russia finally agreed to accept 54° 40′ as her southern limit; north of that she demanded a strip of land along the coast, in order to carry on her trade with the Indians. The boundary was therefore drawn, starting at the south point of Prince of Wales Island, all of which was to belong to Russia, and running thence along the Portland Channel to the fifty-sixth parallel, whence it was "to follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude,"

that is, as far as Mount St. Elias. At no point was the line to go farther inland than ten marine leagues (thirty-five miles).

The United States Buys Alaska from Russia.—In 1867 the United States, partly in the hope of hemming in Canada, bought Alaska from Russia for $7,200,000. The American flag was formally hoisted at various points, among them the head of the Lynn Canal; administration of a sort was carried on by Americans, and prisoners were taken to Oregon for trial. Now, however, that a new value attached to these little posts, Canada and Great Britain looked more closely into the matter, and finding that one interpretation of the treaty would leave the head of the Lynn Canal in British territory, urged arbitration.

Great Britain and the United States Agree to Arbitrate.—The United States was in no hurry to arbitrate, but Great Britain backed us up, and at last in January, 1903, it was agreed to submit the dispute to the decision of "six impartial jurists of repute," three to be chosen by each party. At this arbitration about territory which had been for thirty years in the possession of the United States, her newspapers raised such an outcry that her Government very wrongly appointed three strong partisans, with no claim whatever to be called "impartial jurists." In spite of this Great Britain held to her bargain and appointed the Lord Chief-justice of England, Lord Alverstone; Sir Louis Jetté, the Lieutenant-governor of Quebec, who had formerly been a judge; and Mr. (afterwards Sir Allen) Aylesworth, an eminent Canadian lawyer, who was supposed to be about to become a judge. The choice of two Canadians and of only one Englishman showed our increasing importance.

The Questions at Issue.—The tribunal met in London in September and October, 1903, and discussed three main questions:



ALASKA BOUNDARY DISPUTE

1. Did the boundary run round the heads of the inlets, or cut across them? This was the main point at issue. The Lynn Canal extended some ninety miles inland; was it not absurd, argued Great Britain, to say that the Ocean extended to its head; surely the Ocean stopped at the general line of the coast.

2. Could mountains be found corresponding to the terms of the treaty, or must the line run at a distance of thirty-five miles from the head of the most inland inlet?

3. Was the Portland Canal the passage now so called, or did the treaty mean Observatory Inlet farther south?

The United States Arguments.—On the first question the case of the United States was much the stronger. The chief arguments were:

(*a*) The treaty says that the line is to follow the "windings" (in French *sinuosités*) of the coast. The natural interpretation of this is surely the inlets, and not merely, as Great Britain claimed, the general trend.

(*b*) The maps used by the treaty-makers in 1825, such as that made by Vancouver, showed a continuous line of mountains running around the heads of the inlets.

(*c*) The object of Russia in demanding the strip had been to retain her trade with the Indians; every one knew that the Indian way is to come down to the head of the inlet and await the white trader. The treaty could not have meant that the heads of the most important inlets were to be in British possession, leaving to Russia only rocky islets and headlands.

(*d*) All British map-makers, official and unofficial, had always given the whole strip to the United States.

(*e*) No one had questioned her right in 1867.

The second question was a matter of maps and surveys. On the third, the Canadian claim was the better. A study of the maps which the negotiators had before them

in 1825, and of the journals of Vancouver's voyage of exploration, made it probable that the northern of the two passages was meant.

The Decision.—In October, 1903, the tribunal published its decision, deciding—

1. That the strip must include the heads of all inlets. The Yukon Territory was thus cut off from the sea.

2. That mountains could be found for most, if not for all, the way, and that the line should run along the tops of these, giving the United States a much narrower strip than she had claimed.

3. That the Portland Canal ran to the north of Pearse and Wales Islands, then turned south along what is known as Tongas Passage, leaving to the United States the little islands of Sitklan and Kannaghunut.

Lord Alverstone.—The first two decisions were fair; the third was less reasonable. Tongas Passage is the most convenient way to the sea, but no one had ever before claimed that it was the mouth of the Portland Canal. So angry were the two Canadian Commissioners that they refused to sign the award, and openly stated in the English newspapers that at their last meeting with Lord Alverstone he had agreed with them that all four islands must be awarded to Great Britain. The whole of Lord Alverstone's own published decision is a plea for giving them to Canada till at the end he suddenly, without a single reason, declares that we are to have only two. Did the Lord Chief-justice of England come to a secret understanding with the United States Commissioners, or did he change his mind at the last moment? If the former, why did these Commissioners make a fuss over two trifling little islands, so small that they were not marked on the official atlas of Canada, and of no value for any purpose whatever? The Canadian Commissioners seem to have thought that they commanded Port Simp-

son, and would therefore be dangerous in the event of war, but luckily this has turned out to be incorrect.

Was the Decision Fair?—In conclusion we may say:

1. That the United States, in appointing three such unsuitable Commissioners, showed such disregard for fair play that it is evident that but for the help of Great Britain we should never have forced her to arbitrate at all.

2. That except for two small islands we got everything to which we were entitled by the treaty of 1825.

3. That at the time of drawing up that treaty no one thought that Canada would ever need a doorway into the Yukon.

When news of the decision reached Canada, the newspapers raged furiously, most of them knowing nothing more about it than that the award did not give us the head of the Lynn Canal, and that the two Canadian Commissioners had not signed the report. Big black headlines said that we had been "led like a lamb to the slaughter," or told of the "shameful betrayal of our interests." Even Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in his anger at the United States Government and Lord Alverstone, used in the House of Commons heated language about Great Britain. For the mother country, who had forced seventy millions of people to do us substantial justice, no one had anything but hard words. Two useless little islands bulked larger than they have ever done before or since.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Dominion, 1896–1913 (*continued*)

The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway.—From 1867 to 1897 Canada grew very slowly, and many not only of the immigrants but of our native born were lured away by the greater opportunities in the United States. At the end of the nineteenth century things began to improve. The Government, and more especially the Honourable Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, had faith in Canada, spent large sums in advertising, and a stream of immigration began to flow in from England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, and every country in Europe. Most of those who came did well, and sent back for their relatives and neighbours. Into Ontario, northern Quebec, and the western provinces they poured; Canada began to get breadth as well as length. Our population and our prosperity went up by leaps and bounds; most of the new-comers went West, but the farmers of the West bought the manufactures of the East, and the whole country profited. In the three western provinces there are at least 250,000,000 acres of cultivable land, and these increased in value between 1900 and 1912 by at least $10 an acre. The population of Winnipeg rose from 30,000 to 150,000, of Calgary from 5,000 to 50,000, and of other towns in proportion. The opening up of vast new districts meant the building of railways, and the coming of thousands of navvies. Men who had been laughed at as dreamers for saying that they would live to see the West export 20,000,000 bushels of wheat, lived to see it export fifty, eighty, one hundred millions.

To carry out such a crop, and to carry in these thousands of settlers and their effects, meant such a railway problem as no country, with so small a population had ever faced. The Canadian Pacific Railway showed great energy, and increased its mileage from 3,000 in 1885 to over 10,000 in 1911, but in spite of this it proved unable to carry the grain of the West, and in 1903 a second transcontinental railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific, was given a charter. By its contract with this Company, the Government abandoned the earlier method of giving land grants, but agreed to construct a National Transcontinental line from Moncton to Winnipeg and to lease it to the Grand Trunk Pacific on moderate terms. From Winnipeg west it guaranteed to a large extent the bonds of the Company, in return for control of its freight and passenger rates. Large portions of this railway are now in operation, and by 1915 it will be in running order from Moncton in New Brunswick to Prince Rupert on the Pacific. From Moncton to Winnipeg, and from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert it runs far north of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and there will certainly be need of both lines. At first it was intended that it should run through either the Peace River, or the Pine River Pass, but later on this was changed to the Yellowhead Pass, further south, the old route chosen by Sir Sandford Fleming for the Canadian Pacific Railway, but afterwards changed.

The Canadian Northern Railway.—Meanwhile two great contractors, Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann, had been building and buying railways all over the country and gradually knitting them up into a great system, called the Canadian Northern Railway, which will in a few years give us a third transcontinental system from Quebec to Vancouver, through the Yellowhead Pass. To this the Dominion and the Provinces

have given aid on a large scale, especially by guarantee of its bonds.

The Hudson Bay Railway.—So far all traffic must pass through Winnipeg and out by one of three or four St. Lawrence or Atlantic ports. To improve this the Government is building, at a cost of about $30,000,000 a railway north from the Canadian Northern Railway to Hudson Bay. As it is no farther from Winnipeg to the Bay than to Fort William, and only as far from the Bay to England as from Montreal, this railway will save the whole cost of carrying grain from Fort William to Montreal. The difficulty will be that Hudson Strait, through which all steamers must go, is passable only from about July 15th till October 15th, or at most from July 1st to November 1st. Will not steamers charge very high rates to make up for the danger from the ice, and will not the railway be idle for eight months of the year? But so far in Canada the bold policy has always been the right policy, and we must hope that with ice-breaking steamers and other resources of science, the Strait will be kept open long enough to make the line a success.

Government by Commission.—All this shows that Canada has entered upon an era of tremendous expansion, and the question of the best way to control these great companies takes up more and more of the time of Parliament. The result has been the creation of a number of Commissions, whose members can be dismissed by Parliament if they go wrong, but otherwise have power to act as they wish. Thus we have a Railway Commission, which has done a great deal to control the rates of railway, telephone, and express companies in the interests of the country, while so far it has been in no way unjust to the companies themselves, which have worked in hearty co-operation with it. In 1908 a Civil Service Commission was appointed. To this has been transferred the

right of appointment of a large number of government officials. Previously, such appointments had often been made by the Ministry, not because of the merits of the candidates, but under pressure of their supporters, to advance the interests of the party. The Commission is less subject to such pressure, and is more free to make appointments on grounds of merit alone. There is also a Conservation Commission, with the Honourable Clifford Sifton at its head, on which the Dominion, the Provinces, and the Universities are represented. This body is doing good work in making known our great natural resources, and in suggesting the best methods of preserving them.

The Industrial Disputes Act.—Owing to the large number of strikes by workingmen, the Industrial Disputes Act (1907) was brought in by the Minister of Public Works, Mr. Lemieux. It had been drawn up in large part by his assistant, Mr. Mackenzie King, a grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie. By this Act no body of workingmen employed in any service considered to be of public importance, may strike, and no employers of such workmen may lock out their men, till the matter in dispute has been brought before a Board of Conciliation and Investigation. Though this Board has no power to enforce its judgments, the mere publication of the dispute usually leads to a settlement, and both Englishmen and Americans have been loud in their praise of this new and ingenious method of settling differences.

Japanese Immigration.—With this rapid growth went an increase in our sense of national and imperial responsibility. Canada began to feel herself a nation, not a colony, and in 1907 the name of the Colonial Conference was changed to Imperial Conference, showing that the ideal was no longer that of a mother country with colonial dependencies but of nations discussing matters

on an equality. But a nation can continue to exist only when it has power to maintain its existence, and with the world so linked together, with ships from every nation in Canadian harbours, and with Canadian money invested in every part of the world, we soon began to feel that we must extend our powers of defence over as wide an area as our responsibilities. In 1905-6 a great war took place between Russia and Japan, in which the yellow men were victorious. British Columbia, like the American States on the Pacific, had long been afraid of the Chinese, who flocked to her shores in hundreds, and whose life was so frugal and thrifty that they could live on wages on which a white man would starve. To prevent them from crowding out the whites, a tax first of $50 and afterwards of $500 had been imposed on every Chinese immigrant. She now became equally afraid of the Japanese; for after the war they began to come in large numbers, and in 1907 there were anti-Japanese riots in Vancouver. In 1906 Canada had joined in a British treaty with Japan, by which the subjects of each power had freedom to travel in the territories of the other, so that we could not keep them out as we did the Chinese. Mr. Lemieux was sent as a special delegate to Japan, and by the help of the British Government, succeeded in getting a written promise from the Japanese Government that they would try to turn their emigration away from Canada.

The Canadian Navy.—But while this settled the question for the time, it was only by the aid of Great Britain. British Columbia felt that we should either have some fleet of our own to which to appeal in time of need, or should give enough help to the British Navy to entitle us to call it in. Just at this time, too, the relations between Great Britain and Germany brought home the same feeling to eastern Canada. The trade of Ger-

many had been going ahead by leaps and bounds; she had colonies in Africa and Australasia; her army was the best in Europe, and she burned to be equally formidable at sea. The German fleet was rapidly increased and grew so large that Great Britain was compelled to reorganize her navy, to recall her squadrons from Halifax and from Esquimalt, and to concentrate in her home waters. This was the chief matter discussed at the Imperial Conference in 1907, and still more in 1909 at a special Defence Conference. As a result of this, in January, 1910, Sir Wilfrid Laurier brought into the House of Commons a Bill establishing a Canadian Navy and a Naval College at Halifax. By this Act we were to buy from Great Britain two old ships, the *Niobe* and the *Rainbow*, which were still useful for coastal defence and for training sailors, and to let contracts for building nine new ships at a cost of about $10,000,000. Sir Wilfrid urged that Canada could no longer keep out of the great world; "when Britain is at war, Canada is at war; there is no distinction," he said. "In Britain's wars our sons must join." He urged on both races to join in this crowning effort of the policy of union begun by Lafontaine and Baldwin and carried on, he might have said, by Macdonald and Cartier. But his plan pleased few. In Quebec Mr. Bourassa revived the "nationalist" ideas of Mercier, and fiercely attacked him for committing Canada to a policy of co-operation in Imperial wars. In Upper Canada and the West he was accused of wishing to establish a separate Canadian Navy, a "tin-pot navy," of no use either to Great Britain or to ourselves. The Parliament, however, passed his measure and bought the *Niobe* and the *Rainbow*. What more Canada will do to assist the Empire of which she is a part we do not yet know, but surely whatever

she does will be worthy of her past, and done with no stinted hand.

Improved Relations with the United States.—During the first years of the twentieth century a better feeling grew up between Canada and the United States. In 1888 the latter had refused to ratify a treaty made by her representatives with Great Britain to settle the fisheries dispute, and some years later the two nations were on the verge of war over a quarrel in Venezuela. Though every Canadian knew that in the event of war we should be invaded by overwhelming numbers, there was no quailing; large numbers joined the volunteers, and French and English alike prepared to defend their country. Luckily the quarrel blew over, and the sympathy shown to the United States by Great Britain in her war with Spain (1897), led to an era of good feeling, which continued in spite of the hard words spoken at the time of the Alaska Boundary dispute. An International Joint Commission was established, with members elected in equal numbers by Canada and the United States, to settle all questions concerning the boundary waters. Finally, in 1910 the Fisheries dispute was submitted to the great International Tribunal set up by the nations at The Hague in Holland, and though the decision was more favourable than we had dared to hope, and confirmed our right to make such regulations as we liked in our own territorial waters, the United States took defeat without a whimper. Yet it was through an attempt to make these relations still closer that the Laurier Government fell.

Liberal Victories.—In the general elections in 1904 and 1908 the Liberals were easily victorious. Not only was the country satisfied with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and proud of the way in which he represented us in the eyes of the world, but the Conservatives were still disorganized

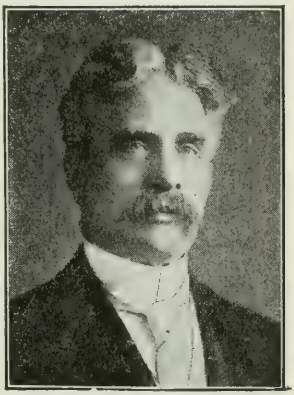
from the shock of 1896. In 1900 Sir Charles Tupper retired into private life, and thus there disappeared from Canadian politics the last of the great Fathers of Confederation, the man who had been Sir John Macdonald's chief support and stay, and who, like him, had never flinched or despaired in the darkest hours. He was succeeded as Conservative leader by Mr. R. L. Borden, a prominent and much respected Nova Scotian lawyer, who through the weary years set to work to reorganize the party.

Decline of the Liberals.—About 1910 the country began to see that the Liberal Cabinet was not so strong as it had been. Some of its members had grown old. Like every party long in power it had been joined by most of those who enter politics not to serve the state but to fill their own pockets, and there had been several scandals, none of which were proved, but which left a bad impression. Moreover, its naval policy had weakened it in the old stronghold of the Prime Minister.

Attempt at Reciprocity with the United States.—With the hope of benefiting the country and also of reviving its own failing vigour, the Government accepted a proposal made by the United States to enter upon negotiations for establishing the limited reciprocity which Lord Elgin had won and Sir John Macdonald desired. Two members of the Cabinet went to Washington, and an agreement was made admitting wheat, fruit, and nearly all other natural products free from one country into the other. This was intended to help the farmer, especially in the West, and was a step toward the ideal of Free Trade, for which the Liberals had always expressed sympathy. But the circumstances were very different from 1854. Then we had been feeble, now we were strong and prosperous. At a huge cost we had built transcontinental railways and a splendid system of canals, to carry our

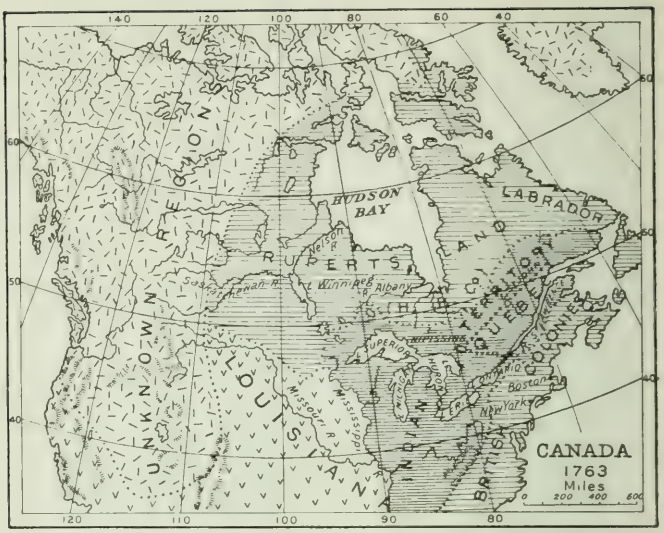
goods east and west. Above all, it was felt that we were getting on very well as we were, and that to enter into such close relations with the United States, just when the West was filling up with settlers, many of whom had no traditions of loyalty to the Empire, might be dangerous.

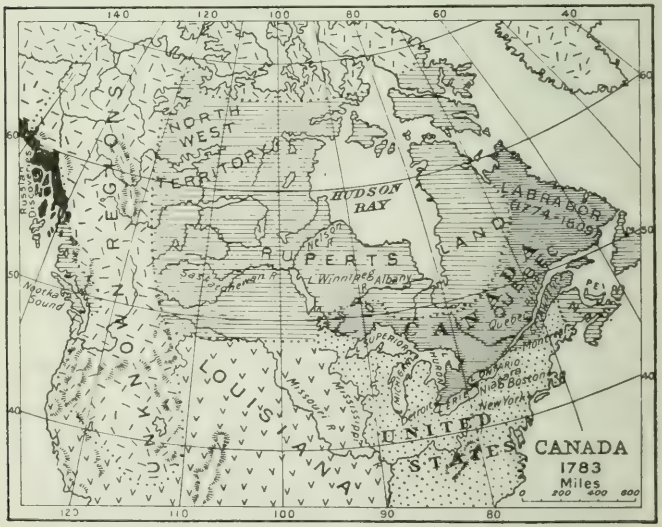
The Conservative Victory.—In the election of September, 1911, Sir Wilfrid kept a small majority in Quebec, and won in both Alberta and Saskatchewan; but in Ontario he won only fourteen seats out of eighty-five. After fifteen years of opposition the Conservatives were again in power, and their leader, the Honourable R. L. Borden, was called upon by the Governor-general to assume the Prime Ministership of Canada. Whether we agree with the rejection of the Reciprocity Agreement or not, we may at least be proud that it was rejected, not on mercenary grounds, but for national and imperial reasons.

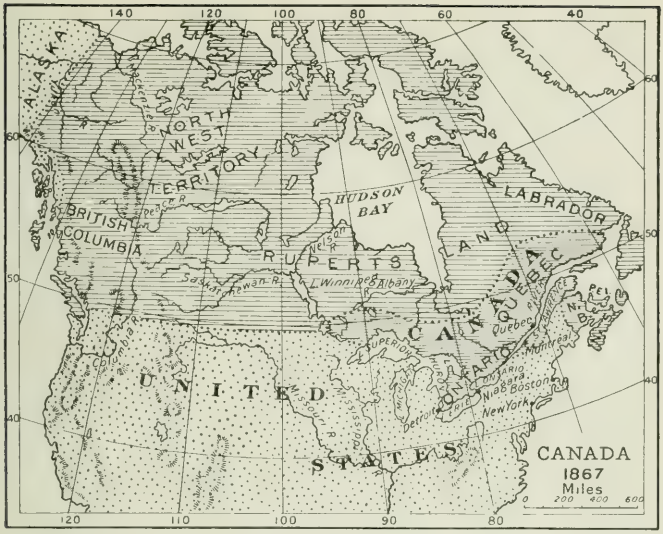


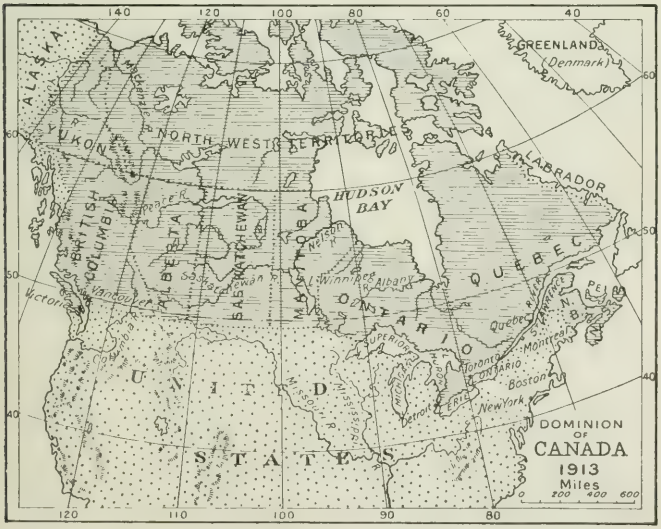
R. L. Borden

Our Relations with the United States.—Had the United States not terminated the Reciprocity Agreement in 1866, had she shown more moderation in the early days of the Fisheries dispute, had she not erected high tariffs against our most important products, much might have been different; but her attempts at coercion had been one of the chief factors in creating a Canadian national spirit, and for the rejection of the Agreement she had herself to blame. But a new and better spirit has come; the United States took the rejection of Recip-


HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
TERRITORY
Nelson R.
Saskatchewan R.
L. Winnipeg
Albany R.
Albany
Superior L.
Michigan L.
Ontario L.
Erie L.
Boston
New York
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
LOUISIANA
CANADA
1763
Miles
0 200 400 600
120 110 100 90 80
140 120 100 80 60 40


NORTH WEST TERRITORY
HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
1774-1809
Nootka Sound
Saskatchewan R.
L. Winnipeg
Albany R.
Albany
Quebec
Montreal
Superior L.
Michigan L.
Ontario L.
Erie L.
Niagara
Boston
New York
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
LOUISIANA
UNITED STATES
CANADA
1783
Miles
0 200 400 600
120 110 100 90 80
140 120 100 80 60 40


ALASKA
NORTH WEST TERRITORY
HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
BRITISH COLUMBIA
RUPERTS LAND
CANADA
UNITED STATES
Winnipeg
Albany
Quebec
Montreal
Toronto
ONTARIO
Boston
New York
Detroit
Chicago
Victoria
Vancouver
CANADA
1867
Miles
0 200 400 600


ALASKA
GREENLAND (Denmark)
YUKON
NORTH WEST TERRITORY
HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
UNITED STATES
Winnipeg
Albany
Quebec
Montreal
Toronto
Boston
New York
Detroit
Chicago
Victoria
Vancouver
DOMINION OF CANADA
1913
Miles
0 200 400 600

rocity, as she took the settlement of the Fisheries, in a far better spirit than we took the Alaska Boundary agreement; by so doing she has shown that she is now a grown-up nation; it remains for us to emulate her.

The Lesson of Canadian History.—The history of a country is never finished, especially when that country feels the blood run so strongly in her veins as does Canada. In making that history we all, every one of us, whether we will or no, take part. As we look back over the story of the past, so rich in heroic deeds, in men who for the sake of Canada loved not their lives unto the death, we may well say, like the prophet of old, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us!" There are blots in the story, to which no true patriot will try to close his eyes; but after looking at them fairly, we may still say that our country has a story worthy of the great races from which we are proud to draw our birth, and that she may justly look forward to a future which shall not only make her illustrious among the nations, but also add yet further honour to the motherlands.

CHAPTER XXXIV

LITERATURE AND ART

Our Imperfect Originality.—Though her intellectual growth has been steady, Canada is still too young to have a great literature or a great art. The early story of Acadia and of Quebec is full of romance, but the fight with nature and with the savage was too fierce to leave time for literature. Such education and thought as existed was turned by the Church into religious channels. In the pioneer days of Upper Canada, the hard realities of life left little time for the exercise of creative imagination. In our present rush of prosperity, few have the leisure to stand aside and think deeply on what life really means. A great literature or a great art is the product of a great national life; and for such a life Canada is as yet too young. Hence we find that, with few exceptions, our writers and our artists have been content to repeat the thoughts of others, and to use the methods of the English and European masters, that their thought and their expression are often largely formed on those of some Old World writer or artist.

The Promise for the Future.—Yet there is no reason for discouragement. Two writers at least, one in prose and one in poetry, have produced original work. These are Haliburton and Drummond, who have depicted the life of the farm and of the woods with absolute fidelity, and have shown us that joy and sorrow, love and hatred and envy, are the same there as in the big world outside. Others, though they have never quite shaken off their models, have written with grace and beauty, and

have come nearest to greatness when they have drunk deepest of Canadian sources. As the national life of Canada grows in richness and in depth, so also will her literature.

I. FRENCH LITERATURE

Before the Conquest.—A number of the early explorers and missionaries have left us stories of their adventures. Either Jacques Cartier himself, or one of his companions, published descriptions of his voyages, which have frequently been reprinted. Champlain wrote accounts of his different journeys, and of the manners and customs of the Indians. Marc Lescarbot, the companion of Champlain and of De Poutrincourt, wrote an amusing *History of New France*, based partly on his own experiences, and partly on the writings of Cartier and Champlain. The Jesuit missionaries sent home accounts of their journeys and of their sufferings, known usually as *Relations*. Many of these were published at the time, and nearly all of them have since been reprinted, though some of them are still in manuscript at Rome. A lighter touch is given in the *New Voyages in North America* of the Baron de Lahontan. He was a gay young soldier who came to Canada toward the end of the seventeenth century. For a time he was in garrison at Michilimackinac, and gained much information from the *coureurs-de-bois* and the Indians. Unfortunately, if a story were amusing, he never cared whether it was true or false, and though his travels are very brightly and cleverly written, many of his tales about the people of the colony have been proved to be untrue. In the eighteenth century Father Charlevoix, a learned Jesuit, wrote a *History of New France*, which is based on a very great deal of reading and of travel.

Early British Rule.—All these books and many others were written by Frenchmen and published in France; at the time of the British conquest Canada was without a printing-press. The first press was introduced by the New Englanders, and the French soon began to make use of it. The priests and the lawyers were the two chief classes of educated men, and thus the first book published was a *Catechism*; the next an *Abridgement of Christian Doctrine;* the third a *Treatise on the Law of Feudal Tenure.* Early in the nineteenth century was issued *Le Canadien,* the first Canadian newspaper written in French. Literature, in the more usual sense of the word, was slow to develop, and in 1839 Lord Durham wrote in his Report: "They are a people with no history and no literature."

Garneau.—This taunt was often flung at the French by their English neighbours, and it roused a young man, F. X. Garneau, to write his *History of Canada.* Garneau felt that if the French Canadians were to continue to be a separate people, they must be shown how great had been the deeds of their fathers. In consequence all the hardships of the early days, all the struggles against the Indians and the English, were recorded by him in heroic style. Though written when many of the documents which we now have were not available, his book is wonderfully accurate, and it breathes a splendid spirit of belief in the destinies of the French race. To this day no book is better worth reading by those who wish to understand the spirit of our French fellow-citizens. Unlike most French histories of Canada, it does not stop at the British conquest, but tells our story up to 1840. Garneau saw that the stories of the early days, thrilling though they are, are yet less remarkable than the wonderful persistence of the French language, laws,

and customs upon a continent in every other part of which British-American ideals have prevailed.

Later Historians.—Since Garneau's time the province of Quebec has never been wanting in historians. Many of these have been priests, who have given up their leisure to recount the deeds of the early missionaries or to study the history of their parishes. Among these were the Abbé Ferland, who wrote the *History of Canada;* the Abbé Laverdière, who edited the works of Champlain; the Abbé Casgrain, whose book on *Montcalm and Levis* tells the story of the last fight for Quebec in a way which makes the men of the eighteenth century live again. Benjamin Sulte, a layman, in his *History of the French Canadians*, has laid special emphasis on the struggle and the endurance of the common people.

The Literary Clubs.—Once Garneau had shown the way, the natural talent of the French for literature soon found vent. Groups of young men in Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers began to come together to read to one another the latest book or magazine from France. From this they went on to read their own poems and essays, and to publish magazines. Most of these lived but a short time, but they gave to the province a literary impulse which has never died away.

Crémazie.—The first French Canadian poet of importance was Octave Crémazie, whose poems were published between 1850 and 1860. He is at his best when he sings of the dear country which his ancestors won from the harsh gods of river and forest and mountain, for which they fought against the Indian in many a silent foray or midnight ambuscade, which they held so long against the English, and which they yielded only when betrayed by a coward king and a profligate court. Too often, however, he is overcome by his models. Thus when he writes a poem on "The Thousand Islands," he

copies words and phrases and turns of expression from Victor Hugo and others of the great French poets of the early nineteenth century.

Gerin-Lajoie.—A younger friend of Crémazie was Gerin-Lajoie. He wrote history, novels, and poetry. His most famous poem is "Un Canadien errant" ("A Wandering Canadian"). It tells of a French Canadian wandering in the United States, feeling that he is a double exile, far from his loved France and his loved Canada. It is as simple and as human as "Auld Lang Syne." It has been sung in every corner of North America from the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Mexico; it has been hummed in the streets of Paris and sung by Papal Zouaves in the vast square in front of St. Peter's.

Fréchette.—The best known poet of French Canada is Louis H. Fréchette. In 1880 two volumes of his poems, *Snow Birds* and *Northern Flowers* (*Les Oiseaux de neige* and *les Fleurs boreales*), were voted a prize by the French Academy, a body of famous writers in Paris. From that time till his death in 1908 literary honours were heaped on him in France, England, and the United States. Like Crémazie, Fréchette sings of the early glories of New France. Like Crémazie, he is steeped in Victor Hugo. His chief work, *The Story of a People*, is imitated even in its title from Victor Hugo's *The Story of the Centuries*. But such is his love for his subject, so great his mastery of his verse, that he is much more than a mere imitator, and well deserved the honours which were awarded him.

The Montreal Club.—Toward the end of the nineteenth century, one of the little literary clubs of which we have spoken was formed at Montreal. Its members were very young, and much of what they wrote was nonsense, but two of them have become poets of distinction. Of these Albert Lozeau was for nine years stretched

on his back with disease, but from this he is now free. He writes graceful verses on nature and on music. One of the youngest members of the club was Emile Neligan, the son of an Irish father and a French mother. At school he was idle and disobedient, quite unable to understand that any one could wish to do anything in the world save talk of poetry and the beauty of poetry. For him the one supremely important thing in life was to express his thoughts and feelings in beautiful language, and he did this with a delicacy and an insight which no other Canadian writer of French has equalled. Unlike Crémazie, Fréchette, and the earlier writers, he took no interest in Canadian history and very little in religion. But always thinking about one's own feelings is perilous work. When poor Emile Neligan was only nineteen, an age at which most of us are full of life and hope, he wrote: "I am staggering at random in the blackness of my youth." A few weeks later his poor brain gave way. The brightest flower of French Canadian poetry was cut off ere it had fully bloomed.

The Novel.—The first novel of any importance by a French Canadian was *Jean Rivard,* in which Gerin-Lajoie tells of the hardships and the eventual triumph of a French Canadian pioneer in the Eastern Townships. Since then several authors have written pleasant sketches of such local scenes, and others, such as J. Marmette, have produced historical novels, dealing with the Intendant Bigot and the downfall of the French régime. But in this branch of literature, the French in Canada have not as yet shown much strength.

II. ENGLISH PROSE

Nova Scotia.—Halifax was founded in 1749, and in 1752 was issued the first number of the first newspaper

in what is now Canada, the *Halifax Gazette*. Four years later, there issued from its office a government proclamation offering £25 for every Micmac scalp. A few years before this a French priest had bought eighteen British scalps at £4 apiece. Such an atmosphere was not conducive to the quiet calm of a literary life.

Haliburton.—With the coming of the Loyalists and of the Scotch immigrants, political life began to be organized, and education to spread. Thus while in Quebec the earliest literature was religious or legal, in Nova Scotia it was political. Many pamphlets were published, but the names of their writers need not be given. In 1829 the publication by Joseph Howe of *The History of Nova Scotia* by T. C. Haliburton, joined two great names. Haliburton was of Loyalist stock. His history is well written and may still be read with interest. Though it was badly printed, it was highly creditable to the little province that so big a book of such a character was printed at all.

Sam Slick.—In 1837 Haliburton published *The Clockmaker; or, The Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville*. Canadian literature, as we have said, has usually imitated English or European models, but *The Clockmaker* is wholly original, the fountain-head from which has flowed the great stream of American dialect humour. In it Sam Slick, a shrewd Yankee pedlar of clocks, discourses to his friend the author, in his racy Down-East dialect, on all subjects under heaven—political, social, and religious—especially on the faults and failings of the Nova Scotians. Shrewd, kindly, with a keen eye for a good horse, much given to brag, but with a humorous appreciation of his own lack of veracity, selling his clocks by a mixture of what he calls "soft sawder and human natur'," so keen on a bargain that he will make a bad one rather than not

"do a trade" of some sort, yet with such a kindly insight into the foibles of human nature that he almost always comes out ahead, Sam is real to the finger tips. Haliburton wrote many other books, but none of them is equal to *The Clockmaker*.

De Mille.—Between 1865 and 1880 James De Mille, for many years Professor of English Literature in Dalhousie University, wrote novels of merit. His early works gave promise of real originality; but his later stories, though amusing and thrilling and with ingenious plots, are imitations of the melodramatic English school of Wilkie Collins.

Later Writers.—Nova Scotia still carries on the literary tradition. In science, Canada has had no name more famous than that of Sir William Dawson, for many years Principal of McGill University, but born and brought up in Pictou County; in history Sir John Bourinot ranks high.

Canadian Historians.—In Ontario and Quebec the study of history has long been pursued. Over sixty years ago Robert Christie wrote *The History of Lower Canada up to the Union of 1841*. John Charles Dent is the author of *The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion, Canada since the Union of 1841*, and other works. Alpheus Todd, of Ottawa, has given us the standard books on Parliamentary Government in Great Britain and in her colonies. William Kingsford has written *The History of Canada* from the earliest times till 1841.

Some of these works, while of real merit, must now be supplemented. Of late years the Government of the Dominion, and those of several of the Provinces, have made large collections of documents dealing with our early history. In particular, the Archives Building in Ottawa contains many thousands of volumes, consisting in some cases of original documents, in others of care-

fully made copies of papers, of which the originals are in Great Britain or France. From time to time, too, these governments, especially those of the Dominion, of Ontario, and of Quebec, publish printed volumes containing such of these papers as are thought to be of most value to the historian.

Nearly all the books mentioned deal with the history of our own country. Some of them have the defect of appearing to think of Canada as if there were no great world outside by the ideas and actions of which she had been constantly influenced. Of histories written by Canadians, but dealing with topics of wide interest, the best known are Todd's two books, already spoken of, and *A History of Cavalry*, by Colonel G. T. Denison, of Toronto, which is recognized throughout the world as the standard work on this subject. It won from the Czar of Russia the first prize in an open competition, and has been translated into numerous foreign languages.

No branch of the literary art is more vigorous in Ontario to-day than is the study and the writing of history. It is pursued by a provincial society, and by a number of county and city societies. The names of living writers of merit are too numerous to mention. Some of them have endeavoured to deal with the whole sweep of Canadian history, while others have occupied a more limited field, and have dealt with such subjects as the struggles of the early pioneers, with the biography of some famous man, or with the annals of a single county.

Goldwin Smith.—Over forty years ago a great Oxford Professor came out to live in Toronto. From that day till his death in 1910 he published histories, magazine articles, and essays on Canada, her history, and her destiny. All of them are written in a wonderful style, clear as crystal, full of interesting allusions and

epigrams. Unfortunately he had made up his mind on all things Canadian before he came out from England, so that it is doubtful whether we can really count him as a Canadian writer.

Major Richardson.—In fiction the first considerable name is that of Major John Richardson, born at Queenston, on the Niagara River, in 1796. His best novel is *Wacousta*, a stirring tale of Pontiac's war, modelled on the writings of Fenimore Cooper.

Kirby.—Later on William Kirby, of Niagara, published *The Golden Dog*, a tale of the days of the Intendant Bigot. It is modelled on the stories of French history written by Dumas, and is full of lovely ladies in distress, cruel villains, and virtuous heroes. But Kirby knew well the French Canadian peasant, and when he leaves his poisoners and his conspirators and tells of the quarrels between the ferryman and his wife, or of the revels of the travelling notary, then he draws from life, and with great delicacy and skill.

Sir Gilbert Parker.—In more recent times we have had many novelists, of whom the best known is probably Sir Gilbert Parker, born near Belleville. He has written tales of the western plains, such as *Pierre and his People;* historical novels, such as *The Seats of the Mighty;* and stories of Lower Canadian life, such as *The Right of Way*. He has a fine sense of the dramatic, and a grip of the dramatic sides of character. Few who have read *The Seats of the Mighty* can forget Doltaire, the cool, cynical villain who dies so bravely; or the scene where the mad Mathilde suddenly curses François Bigot, her betrayer.

West and East.—The Rev. Charles Gordon, who writes under the name of "Ralph Connor," has published a series of sketches of life in the mining towns and ranches among the foothills of the Rockies. Ernest Thompson-

Seton, in *Wild Animals I have Known, Lives of the Hunted*, and other similar stories, has opened up a new vein in literature. The same vein has been worked with almost equal skill by Charles G. D. Roberts. Thompson-Seton deals mainly with the animals of the western plains and mountains, Roberts with those of the woods and rivers of New Brunswick. At their best both show a love of animals, a knowledge of their habits, a delicate imagination, and a mastery of nervous English, which are worthy of very high praise.

III. ENGLISH POETRY

The New Brunswick School.—In poetry, alike in volume and in merit, the New Brunswick school must be given the palm. Of this school, Charles G. D. Roberts and his cousin Bliss Carman are the chief. Both of them have gone to live in the United States, where it is easier for a poet to make a living, but both are still Canadians, and often turn their thoughts to Canadian themes. Both have drawn their truest inspiration from the forests and the marshes of Acadia. Thus, when Roberts writes an ode in honour of Shelley, he recalls the ebb and flow of the tides over the long marshes of Tantramar:

> You know how I have loved you, how my dreams
> Go forth to you with longing, though the years
> That turn not back like your returning streams
> And fain would mist the memory with tears,
> Though the inexorable years deny
> My feet the fellowship of your deep grass.

Charles G. D. Roberts.—Roberts began to write poetry when very young, and in *Orion*, written when he was only eighteen, and in *Actaeon*, written three years later, he produced classical idylls not unworthy of Tennyson.

Seldom have the works of a young man shown such command of language, such dignity and restraint of thought and style. Since then he has ranged over the whole field of song, has written sonnets of rustic life almost as good as Wordsworth's, ballads almost as stirring as Kipling's, love-songs almost as musical as Swinburne's. He is a true poet, but with all his grace and delicacy he has never quite shaken off the influence of the great masters, or created a new Canadian form of expression for his poems of Canadian life.

Bliss Carman.—Bliss Carman has also drunk deep of Acadian founts. He tells of the joys of the open road, of how the sun-light and the wind allure him on

> From rippled water to dappled swamp,
> From purple glory to scarlet pomp.

At times he thrills us with the lyric cry of regret over irreparable loss:

> When night goes over the hill,
> And dawn comes down the dale,
> It's oh for the wild sweet will
> That shall no more prevail.

He has beauty of expression and at times real rapture of emotion. Yet both the beauty and the rapture are reminiscent of Shelley, with at times a touch of Swinburne. Of him, too, we must say that he has never wholly shaken off his models, never soared freely on pinions of his own.

Heavysege.—The earliest Lower Canadian poet to achieve fame was Charles Heavysege, who was born in England, and came in middle life to Montreal. Here he wrote a series of dramas in blank verse, of which *Saul* is the best known. He modelled his style on that of Milton, but was not successful, and his poems have not stood the test of time.

Campbell, Mair, Lampman.—Since then Ontario and Quebec have had many poets. William Wilfred Campbell, Charles Mair, and Archibald Lampman have written beautiful poetry in praise of nature. Mair and Campbell have also written dramas in blank verse. *Tecumseh*, by Mair, tells the story of the life and death of the great Indian chief who fell at Moraviantown. Campbell, in *Mordred*, has gone back, like Tennyson, to the story of King Arthur. He has also written many poems dealing with human thought and emotion. Of these *The Mother* is the most celebrated. Many other poets might be named, such as Isabella Valancy Crawford, Pauline Johnson, Agnes M. Machar, Alexander Maclachlan, Duncan Campbell Scott, Frederick George Scott. All of them have written thoughtful and artistic verse, but all of them recall some English singer too directly to be called original or great. Here is the opening of Lampman's "Ode to June":

> Long, long ago, it seems, this summer morn
> That pale-browed April passed with pensive tread
> Through the frore woods, and from its frost-bound bed
> Woke the arbutus with her silver horn;
> And now May, too, is fled,
> The flower-crowned month, the merry laughing May,
> With rosy feet and fingers dewy-wet,
> Leaving the woods and all cool gardens gay
> With tulips and the scented violet.
>
> Gone are the wind-flower and the adder-tongue
> And the sad drooping bellwort, and no more
> The snowy trilliums crowd the forest's floor;
> The purpling grasses are no longer young, ...

The flowers are the flowers of Canada, the observation is true and delicate; but the hushed melancholy of the verse and of the thought, and such devices as the use of compound epithets are taken from Keats.

Service.—R. W. Service, in *Songs of a Sourdough, Ballads of a Cheechako,* etc., has written of the Yukon. He knows the Yukon well; he has seen the Northern Lights flash red and purple and gold amid the eternal hills; he knows the human love and sorrow and envy in the heart of the pioneer and the prospector; but when he comes to tell of it, he copies all the methods of Rudyard Kipling, instead of finding a new one of his own.

Drummond.—One original poet we had whose verse is worthy to be placed beside the prose of Haliburton. This is Dr. W. H. Drummond, of Montreal. In *The Habitant, Johnny Çourteau,* and other volumes of verse, he has revealed to us the French Canadian peasant. It is a very difficult thing to make his French characters speak in broken English, as Drummond does, without appearing to make fun of their mistakes; but his art is so delicate that he has accomplished this feat. Fréchette wrote a charming preface to *The Habitant,* in which he generously applies to Drummond the words in which he himself had been spoken of by the American Longfellow, and calls him "the pathfinder of a new land of song." He says: "Whether Dr. Drummond brings before us the jolly farmer proud of his land or of his grown-up daughters, the old country-side doctor with his countless good deeds, the young lover dreaming in the moonlight, the old man recalling the long succession of by-gone memories, the village story-teller, the hunter from the west, or the Canadian in exile in whose ears sounds ever the faint peal of the bells of his village; whether his tale be comic or pathetic, the note is always true, the quaintness never becomes childish or burlesque." This is high praise, but not a whit higher than was deserved.

Marjorie Pickthall.—Of our younger poets, the most

promising is Miss Marjorie Pickthall of Toronto. She has the rare faculty of singing a song shot through with frequent reminiscences, now of the modern Irish School, now of Milton or of Shelley; yet always with the true lyric note of welling forth uncontrollably. Here is a verse from her "Swallow Song":

> The silver roads of love are wide,
> O winds that turn, O stars that guide.
> Sweet are the ways that Love hath trod
> Through the clear skies that reach to God.
> But in the cliff-grass Love builds deep
> A place where wandering wings may sleep.

IV. MUSIC

In Quebec.—Music has long been cultivated in the province of Quebec. Its two chief forms have been the stately music of the Church, and the singing of the dainty *chansons*, or songs. These are sung alike by children and parents, by farmers and *voyageurs* and lumbermen. They inspired one of the chief singers of the nineteenth century, Madame Albani-Gye, who was born at St. Hyacinthe, and who loved nothing so well as to sing to great audiences the songs of her childhood. Many of these *chansons* were brought over from old France by the early settlers, but one of the most beautiful of them, "O Canada," was written by Judge Routhier, of Quebec, and set to music by M. Lavallé.

In the Other Provinces.—In all the chief cities of the Dominion music is well taught, but in no other province is it so spontaneous as in Quebec. Toronto possesses an orchestra and splendid choirs, and all Canadians join together in singing "The Maple Leaf Forever," of which the words and the music were written by the late Alexander Muir, a Toronto school teacher.

V. ART

In Quebec.—Champlain illustrated his books with quaint drawings, and the Jesuits painted for the edification of the Indians many pictures of the torments of the lost, and the bliss of the saved. Since then, in Lower Canada, art has taken the form chiefly of portrait-painting, the reproduction of European master-pieces to serve as altar-pieces in the churches, and sculpture. Of late years several French Canadian sculptors have won fame in the studios of Paris. Of these the chief is Philippe Hébert, who has adorned the Parliament Buildings at Quebec with figures, full of life and vigour, of the chief characters in Canadian history. Even more stately is his statue of Maisonneuve, which adorns the Place d'Armes at Montreal. But perhaps the finest statue in Canada is not by a Canadian, but by two French artists. It is that of Champlain, where, on the rock of Quebec, the figure of the explorer, turning his back on the mighty river, looks inland over the country whose greatness he foresaw.

Paul Kane.—Many celebrated British and European artists have visited Ontario and the West and been inspired by their beauty, but the first native-born artist to rise to eminence was Paul Kane. He was born at York (now Toronto) of Irish parents early in the nineteenth century. In the streets of the little village he came much in contact with Indians, and though he afterwards studied in Europe, it was to reproduce the life of the Indian that his genius turned. He wandered far west, and was commissioned by Sir George Simpson to paint a series of pictures representing the manners and customs of the Indians of the plains. Many of these remain, and reproduce with fidelity and vigour the wild days now passed away.

Daniel Fowler.—The next Canadian artist to deserve mention was Daniel Fowler, an Englishman, who was compelled to come to Canada for the sake of his health. He became a farmer on Amherst Island near Kingston, and for fourteen years did not touch a brush. Then he took up his art again, and produced a series of landscapes of great skill and beauty.

Walker, Homer Watson, Reid.—Of later painters the most successful have been those who have drawn their inspiration from Canadian landscape and the simple life of the Canadian country side. Horatio Walker loves best to paint scenes from *habitant* life. Whether he paints a sheep-washing in a shady pool, or a sturdy farmer felling a tree, his work is ever thoughtful and suggestive, full of the mystery of nature but also of its joy. Homer Watson depicts "pure spaces clothed in living beams" of sunlight, or shows the same light filtering through the tree trunks. George A. Reid won his first success by a picture of rural life, "The Foreclosure of the Mortgage," but he has devoted himself mainly to mural decoration, and has enriched many Canadian homes with landscapes of soft blues and greens, bathed in a dreamy light.

Art Schools and Societies.—Upper Canada College had a drawing master almost from its foundation, and as early as 1834 an exhibition of paintings was held in Toronto. The organization of Art in Ontario, however, really dates from 1872, when the Ontario Society of Artists was founded. It has ever since held exhibitions and done much to stimulate the study of art. In 1912, the school which had been attached to it became the Ontario College of Art, to the support of which the Ontario Government now contributes. In 1879, encouraged by the Marquis of Lorne, this Society was widened into the Royal Canadian Academy. This

body has gathered a fine collection of paintings in the National Art Gallery at Ottawa. Its first president was L. R. O'Brien, whose landscapes of the Rocky Mountains are famous. He was succeeded by Otto Jacobi, who had had a long and honourable career in Montreal. Then came Robert Harris, whose best known work is a group representing "The Fathers of Confederation," followed in turn by G. A. Reid, and William Brymner.

Sculpture.—Under the leadership of Hamilton McCarthy and Walter S. Allward this art has reached a high level of merit in Ontario, and there are a number of younger sculptors producing work of very considerable promise. Overlooking the Niagara River is the splendid monument to Sir Isaac Brock, perhaps the most striking specimen of the sculptor's art in the province. It was unveiled in 1840.

CHAPTER XXXV

GOVERNMENT

I. MUNICIPAL
II. PROVINCIAL
III. FEDERAL
IV. IMPERIAL

I. Municipal

Origin of Government.—"No man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself," says the Bible. In everything we do, great or small, we are coming in contact with others, helping or hindering them, being helped or hindered by them, whether we wish it or no. The very first settler who went out into the prairies or into New Ontario to make a living, who could look in any direction and see nothing but trees or sky-line, was yet dependent on the actions of others, some of them hundreds of miles away. Even if at first the pioneer is so much alone that he does not realize the influence on him of the actions of others, new settlers soon follow him into the district. Presently they find matters arising which concern them all in common. If they are of British descent, or in a British colony, we may be sure that they will gather together, hold a meeting, and elect representatives to discuss and decide upon and administer these common affairs. Some of these affairs require the spending of money, and all the settlers find it necessary to club together and to pay a contribution. As matters grow more complicated, so do the bodies which administer them.

The common contribution becomes known as a tax, and careful methods are thought out for apportioning and collecting it. Certain classes of people are refused any share in the control of the common affairs, or, as we now express it, they are denied a vote. In the previous chapters we have seen how these various governing bodies grew up in Canada, and how more and more of the people of the country have been allowed to take part in the management of their own affairs. To-day every Canadian finds himself controlled by various governing bodies. In a sense, he is subject to them, because they administer laws which he must obey. In another sense, they are his servants, because they are elected by, and can be dismissed by, the majority of the people, of whom he is one. Let us see what these governing bodies are, how they are composed, and what are their powers.

Municipal Divisions.—Save for a few scattered frontiersmen in outlying districts where municipalities have not yet been formed, every Canadian is a member of a municipality. He lives either in a township, a village, a town, or a city. The meaning of these terms differs but little in each province. In the following account we shall take Ontario as our model. Where the population is scattered, the country is divided into *townships*. As soon as a population of over 750 has gathered together within an area of not more than 500 acres, it may, if it so wishes, apply to the county council, and be "incorporated" as a *village*, with certain powers of self-government. Even if the number is less than 750, it may be formed into what is known as a *police village*, with similar but smaller powers. Formerly, this rule about population was not strictly observed, and villages were incorporated with a smaller population than 750. Thus Garden Island, opposite Kingston, is a village with less than 400 people. If any village, or other body of

people, grows to have a population of at least 2,000, it may be erected into a *town*, with larger powers of self-control; and if the town reaches 15,000 it may become a *city*, with still larger powers. All of these divisions are situated within a larger division, known as a *county*, though in certain cases towns and villages have spread across the border into the adjoining county. Although a city is situated within a county, its government is separate; and in some cases, though not usually, a town, too, has its government separate from that of the county. Most towns, and all villages and townships are, for purposes of government, considered to be within the county.

Government by Council.—A township, village, town, city, or county, is governed by a Council. The Act of the Legislature of Ontario describing the powers and the organization of these municipal councils covers over 250 large-sized pages, and it is followed by over 700 pages dealing with other municipal matters. Government by council is therefore a very complicated question, with an outline of which we must be content.

Township, Village, and County Councils.—In a township or village the council consists of a Reeve and four councillors. This form of government goes back to Anglo-Saxon times before the Norman conquest. Nothing could show better how slow we people of British descent are to change than the fact that the reeve and his four councillors are the descendants of the "Reeve and the Four Men" who administered the affairs of the English villages in the days of King Alfred. If a village grows till it contains five hundred voters, then it is governed by a reeve, a deputy-reeve, and three councillors, and for every additional 500 voters, a deputy-reeve takes the place of a councillor. The county council consists of the reeves and deputy-reeves of all the towns, town-

ships, and villages in the county. It chooses its own head, who is known as the Warden.

Town and City Councils.—In a town or city the composition of the council is more complicated. The head of the council, known as the Mayor, is elected by all the voters. But for the election of councillors, the town is sometimes divided into a number of districts, known as wards. Each of these elects a certain number of councillors, three for each ward where there are less than five wards, or two where there are five wards or more. In a city the form of election is the same, save that each ward elects three councillors, who are known as Aldermen—another old Saxon term.

Boards of Control.—Now that cities are growing so rapidly in size, the council is apt to become too large to act quickly or efficiently. In so big a body it is hard to find out who is responsible for what has been done. Thus some of our larger cities have been given the power to elect a smaller body, known as a Board of Control. This is composed of the mayor and four aldermen, chosen by the whole city. Without its consent no money may be voted, unless at least two thirds of the council agree to overrule it. Toronto, Ottawa, and Hamilton have such boards of control, and the same system has been adopted in Montreal, Winnipeg, and several other cities.

Method of Election.—The councils of cities, towns, villages, and townships are elected annually. In the month of December the clerk of the municipality gives notice, and a public meeting is held on the last Monday in that month or, in some of the larger cities, on December 23rd. At this meeting qualified citizens are nominated for the various positions. A week later an election is held. If only one man has been nominated for a position, he is declared elected. If more than one, an elec-

tion by ballot is held. At different places in the county, town, or city, called polling-booths, certain officers, known as deputy returning officers, receive the votes, which must be given on specially printed pieces of paper, known as ballots. Each voter is given one ballot by the deputy returning officer. On this he marks a cross opposite the name of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote, and places it in a special box, to which the deputy returning officer alone has the key. At the end of the day, the deputy returning officers count the ballots, and send in the result to the clerk of the municipality, who is considered the returning officer, and he makes known the result. If there is any dispute, a recount may be made by the judge of the County or District Court.

Qualifications of Voters.—All men, unmarried women, and widows, who are subjects of the British Crown, twenty-one years of age, and of sound mind, are entitled to vote in municipal elections if they possess a certain small amount of property, or are in receipt of a certain income. A "farmer's son," that is, the son who resides with his father or mother on a farm, may vote even if he has not the property or income, if the farm is of sufficient value to provide an amount of qualification for both the father, or mother, and himself.

Qualifications of Councillors.—Except in one or two of the outlying districts, such as Thunder Bay or Rainy River, no person may be elected reeve, mayor, councillor, or alderman, unless he is a subject of the British Crown, a resident in the municipality or within two miles of it, at least twenty-one years of age, and the possessor, either by freehold or leasehold, of a certain small amount of property. Various classes of persons may not be elected to office. Among these are judges, police magistrates, innkeepers, and saloon-keepers. No

person having business dealings with the council may be a member of it, and no councillor is allowed to have any business dealings with the council. In almost all the township, village, and county councils, the members give their services free, though they may, and usually do, have their travelling expenses paid. In towns and cities the councillors and aldermen usually serve free, but the mayor and members of the board of control are given a small salary; in one or two cities the aldermen, too, are paid a small sum. But in general, it is felt wiser that members of the council should be chosen from those who are willing to serve for love of the city or township in which they live. It would be a great calamity if membership of a council came to be looked on as a trade.

Powers.—What are the powers of these councils? In general, we may say that councils have to do with most of the matters which concern our everyday life as citizens. They appoint, control, and dismiss a very large number of officials, such as pound keepers, road surveyors, road commissioners, valuators, city engineers, assessors, etc. They have the care of the poor, and must provide homes or industrial farms for their maintenance. In the townships, villages, and counties they control the making and maintenance of the roads. In the towns and cities their powers are larger. They control the laying out of new streets and the keeping up of those in existence, they make rules governing the erection of buildings and the providing of a fire service. They arrange for the drainage of the city, its water supply, its heat and light. They have power to make agreements regulating the laying of street railways, or the entrance of railways into the city. Thus they have it in their power to make the city ugly or beautiful, clean or unclean, healthy or unhealthy. In the year

1911 the "budget" of the city of Toronto, that is, the total amount spent by its municipal council, from current taxes and from loans, was over $14,000,000. Even in a small city such as Kingston, the "city fathers," as the members of the council are often called, raised and spent in 1912 over $250,000.

Administration of Justice.—One of the most important matters in any community is to see that the laws are obeyed and that justice is well administered. Few of us think, as we walk down town, or stroll along a country road in the evening, how risky it once was to do such a thing. In early days the protection of life and property was indeed the chief function of government, and one which the "Reeve and the Four Men" found it very difficult to perform. With the advance of civilization, the functions of the municipality have increased, but the maintenance of justice is still a very real part of them. The head of every council is *ex officio* a Justice of the Peace, or Magistrate, and may try ordinary breaches of the law. In most towns and cities this duty is delegated to a special officer known as a Police Magistrate. He is appointed by the Provincial Government, and his salary is paid by the town or city. In the counties the High Constable and his assistants are appointed and paid by the county council or by fees, or partly in one way and partly in the other. In some towns and cities the Chief of Police and his assistants are under a body known as the Police Commissioners, composed of the Mayor, the Senior Judge of the County Court, and the Police Magistrate.

Education.—Most of the money spent upon the schools of the province is raised by the municipalities. Every township is divided into sections, known as school sections, so arranged that no part of any section is at an inconvenient distance from a school. Each school is put

under the care of three trustees, elected by the voters of the section. These appoint or dismiss the teachers, fix their salaries, and are responsible for the building, equipment, and maintenance of the school. In a city each ward elects two trustees, and these form the Board of Trustees. In some cases all the schools in a city, town, or incorporated village are placed under the management of a Board of Education elected in the same manner as the Council. This Board informs the municipal council how much money it will need, and the council is bound to supply it.

Taxation.—The municipality gets the money for carrying out all these various duties by taxing the citizens. At the beginning of the year, a committee of the council, known as the Finance Committee, decides how much money will be needed during the year to carry on the work of the municipality. Meanwhile, certain municipal officials, known as Assessors, have made the round of the city or county, and assessed, that is, placed a value on all property for purposes of taxation. In order that no one may be wronged, in every city there is held at this time a special court, appointed for the purpose, known as the Court of Revision, to which any one may appeal who thinks himself wrongly assessed. In the county the same purpose is served by certain officials, known as valuators. When the assessment is complete, and all appeals have been heard, the council divides the amount required among the various citizens, each of whom is compelled to pay a definite amount, (*a*) in proportion to his income, (*b*) in proportion to the value of his land or property, (*c*) in proportion to the extent of his business.

The tax is usually estimated at so many mills on the dollar. A mill is an imaginary coin, worth one tenth of a cent. Thus, if the tax rate in a municipality be

ten mills on the dollar, property worth $1,000 a year would pay a yearly tax of $10.

We must always bear in mind that these taxes are not money wrongfully taken from us, but simply our just contribution to the upkeep of public services in which we all have an interest. Thus, while we must all be careful to elect honest and economical councillors, we must not grudge them money enough to make our city or county healthy and beautiful.

Exemptions.—From this municipal taxation many exemptions are given. Of these the chief are (*a*) No tax is levied by the municipality on its own property, such as parks, city or county buildings; or on that of the Crown, such as post-offices, custom houses, armouries, etc. (*b*) No tax is collected upon the buildings of churches, universities, colleges, schools, hospitals, asylums, nor in general from any religious, educational, or charitable society. (*c*) No tax is levied on a person's income till it reaches a certain amount, and only on that part of it which exceeds that amount. This differs in different cases. For example, in cities a married man, not owning property, pays no tax on any part of his income below $1,500.

Poll Tax.—In order that no one may be wholly exempt, in cities, towns, and villages every man between twenty-one and sixty who pays no other tax, pays a poll or head tax of one dollar a year.

Municipal Debts.—A city often has to borrow money in order to carry out some work which demands a larger sum than can be raised by immediate taxation. In the earlier days many of the municipalities borrowed so much that they could not pay the interest, to say nothing of the principal. In consequence the province has now passed a law restricting the amount which a municipality may borrow. Even so, some of the municipalities have

large debts. That of Toronto is over $33,000,000, the interest on which has to be paid out of the yearly taxes.

Money By-Laws.—The councils are never allowed to forget that they hold their power from the people. Not only are they elected for short periods, but they cannot of their own authority commit the people to any large new expense. With certain small exceptions, any by-law which involves the spending of money beyond the normal revenue of the municipality must be voted on by those persons owning property to a certain amount, and the money is spent only if the by-law is passed by a majority of such persons.

Lack of Continuity.—Although there is no reason why the same man should not be re-elected as long as he proves satisfactory, there is a wish in most municipalities to "pass the honours round." Thus while aldermen and councillors are usually re-elected for many years, it is rare for a mayor, a reeve, or a warden to hold office for more than one or two years. This custom trains a large number of men in methods of administration, teaches them how to preside at a meeting, etc. But it has the very bad result that there is no continuity. Just when a mayor or a reeve has learned his business, just when some big plan which he is carrying out is half completed, he may have to give up his place to another.

Permanent Officials.—However, each council has a number of officials, a clerk, a treasurer, a solicitor, etc., who are not elected but appointed, and who hold their positions "for life or good conduct." These carry on the work when the council is not meeting. Though they are subject to the orders of the council, they usually, owing to the length of their tenure of office, know more about administration than do the councillors, and much of our municipal government is really carried on by them.

II. Provincial

The Provinces.—Every Canadian lives a wider life than that of a member of a municipality. He is also a citizen of a province, and the municipality has such powers only as the province chooses to give it.

Canada consists at present of nine provinces. Of these Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were united into the Dominion of Canada by the British North America Act. By this Act power was given to the Queen to admit into the new Dominion Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and Newfoundland, whenever they so wished. Of these the first two have since been admitted by what is known as an Order in Council, that is, by an order of the Privy Council of the Sovereign of Great Britain. By the same Act, Canada was also allowed to take over "Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory," on arranging proper terms. This she did in 1870. Part of this territory she made in that year into the province of Manitoba; in 1905 Alberta and Saskatchewan were similarly set apart out of it. Thus some of our provinces owe their existence to Acts of the Parliament and Government of Great Britain, others to Acts of our own Canadian Parliament.

The Lieutenant-governor.—A province has a more complicated government than a municipality. At its head is a Lieutenant-governor, who represents the Crown. He is appointed by the Governor-general, on the advice of his ministers, and is paid by the Dominion. His powers are really the same over the province as are those of the Governor-general over the Dominion, and can be better discussed when we speak of the latter official.

The Legislative Council.—Quebec and Nova Scotia have Legislative Councils, the members of which are appointed by the Lieutenant-governor on the advice of

his ministers, and hold office for life. The powers of this body correspond to those of the Senate in the Dominion.

The Legislative Assembly.—In all the provinces the chief organ of government is the Legislative Assembly, composed of representatives of the people. The province is divided into a certain number of constituencies, as equal as possible in population, each of which elects one or more representatives. Most of the cities have been made separate constituencies, or if populous enough, are divided into two or more. The other constituencies are arranged to follow as nearly as possible the boundaries of the counties. The Legislative Assembly of Ontario has at present 106 members. Of recent years many cities have grown very rapidly, but the number of their members has not in all cases been increased; thus the cities of Ontario have fewer representatives in proportion to their population than the rural districts. A member of the Provincial Parliament must be of the male sex, over twenty-one years of age, a British subject, and a resident of Ontario. He is entitled to place after his name the letters M.P.P. (Member of the Provincial Parliament). In provinces where there is a Legislative Council, its members are entitled to the letters M.L.C. (Member of the Legislative Council), and the members of the Assembly are called either M.P.P. or M.L.A. (Member of the Legislative Assembly). The Legislature of Ontario may not sit for more than four years without a general election, and in no province may a period of five years be exceeded. The members of the Provincial Legislature of Ontario are elected by ballot and on manhood suffrage, that is, every male British subject of twenty-one years of age, and of sound mind, is entitled to one vote. At a general election all elections are held on the same day, except in the outlying District of Algoma, where a little more time is allowed. The system of procedure in the Pro-

vincial Legislature is the same as that in the Dominion House of Commons.

Powers.—A long list of the powers of the legislatures of the provinces is given in the British North America Act. We may group them as follows:

1. The amendment of the constitution of the province, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-governor. 2. The raising of revenue by direct taxation, and by the control and sale of the Crown lands. 3. The establishment and maintenance of prisons, reformatories, hospitals, asylums, etc. 4. The building and subsidizing of railways and other public works wholly within the province. 5. The solemnization of marriage. 6. Laws relating to property and civil rights within the province. 7. Absolute control of municipal institutions. 8. The incorporation of companies with provincial objects. 9. The administration of justice within the province. 10. The control of education.

Let us examine some of these for a moment.

The Amendment of the Constitution.—By the constitution of the province we mean its form of government. So far the provincial constitutions have proved satisfactory, except that Nova Scotia has more than once tried to abolish its Legislative Council. A Bill to this effect has more than once been passed through the Legislative Assembly, but so far the Council has been strong enough to avert its own doom.

The Raising of Revenue.—To govern a province costs a great deal of money. At present Ontario spends over $10,000,000 a year, and one of the other provinces, British Columbia, spends even more. Whence does all this money come?

1. From the Dominion subsidy. The province has not the right of imposing indirect taxation; for example, it may not place any duty or other tax on any article coming

into the province. Until Confederation the provinces had this power, being separate self-governing colonies, and in return for their abandoning it the Dominion is bound to pay them a yearly subsidy. This consists in part of a lump sum, and in part of the sum of eighty cents a head for every man, woman, and child in the province.

2. From the sale or lease of the Crown Lands; that is, of all the lands in the province which originally belonged to Great Britain, and which had not been disposed of at Confederation. Lumber companies pay large sums for the right to cut timber on these lands, and so do mining companies for the right to take metals and minerals from the soil.

In Alberta and Saskatchewan the control of the Crown Lands has been retained by the Dominion, which in consequence pays a larger subsidy to these provinces.

3. From the sale of licenses. Of these much the most important and most expensive is a license for the right to sell liquor. As the right to issue licenses implies the right to refuse them, a province has thus the right to regulate or prevent the sale of liquor within its borders. It cannot, however, interfere with its manufacture or with its importation. This can be done only by the Dominion.

4. From direct taxation. So far there is no direct tax imposed on all the inhabitants by the province, as the other methods of raising a revenue have been found sufficient. But on the death of any one worth over a certain amount, his estate pays a tax, known as a Succession Duty. Direct taxes are also imposed on certain companies, especially those which deal with transport and finance, that is, railway, telegraph, telephone, trust and loan companies, and banks.

5. From the provincial railway, and other public works and buildings.

6. From money borrowed by the province. So far the administration of Ontario by both political parties has been so good, and our resources are so large, that our provincial debt is very small.

Property and Civil Rights.—Under this very important head the province makes laws regulating all matters of ordinary business intercourse, such as the relations between employer and employed, the compensation to be paid by an employer to his men in case of an accident, the law governing mortgages, transfer of real property, the right to damages for civil wrongs, and a hundred other important questions.

Municipal Government.—The province has absolute control of municipal government. The powers of the municipalities, which we have described, have all been given to them by Acts of the Provincial Legislature, and can be altered or taken away by it.

Of recent years a very important part of the work of the province has consisted:

1. In helping the municipalities to co-operate, as in the case of the Hydro-Electric Commission.

2. In adjusting disputes between the municipalities and railway and other companies supplying public services known as public utilities. This is done by the Railway and Municipal Board.

The Administration of Justice.—Courts of justice have to do with civil and with criminal matters. The former are those in which no crime is involved, but only a dispute between individuals, companies, or corporations. The latter are those in which an act is committed or omitted in violation of a public law. In both civil and criminal matters the highest authority in the province is the Supreme Court of Ontario. This Court has two

divisions, the High Court Division, and the Appellate Division. To prevent its being overloaded with trivial matters, a case may not be brought before it, except upon appeal involving an amount within the jurisdiction of an inferior court. In every county there is also held a court, known as the County Court, before which are brought matters of less importance. In every county there are also not fewer than three, or more than twelve, Division Courts, which have jurisdiction in smaller civil matters only. Of these the most usual are suits for recovery of debts of not more than $100. In the more important cases, where either party thinks that wrong has been done him by the decision, he may appeal to the Supreme Court of the province.

Criminal matters are usually brought up in the first place before a justice of the peace or a police magistrate. In very serious cases he has no right to give a decision, and in any case there is an appeal from his decision to a higher Court. In each county and in the city of Toronto there is a Crown Attorney, appointed by the Lieutenant-governor in Council, whose duty it is to see that the law is enforced, and to prosecute all criminals in cases in which there is no individual to act as prosecutor, or where, as in the case of burglary or murder, the crime is considered one not against an individual, but against our country itself.

Education

The Department of Education.—With some exceptions the provinces have control of education, and this is certainly their most important duty. One of the Ministers in the Provincial Cabinet has charge of this Department. Under him are a large number of officials, of whom the chief are a Deputy Minister and a Superintendent of Education. Unlike the Minister, who changes whenever

there is change of government, these officials hold office "for life or good conduct." To each of them is intrusted much of the work of administration, but for all their acts it is the Minister who is responsible.

The Ontario School System.—Ontario has a very complete school system. The pupil begins at the *Public School*, admission to which is free to all. Attendance, either at this or at a private school, is compulsory between the ages of eight and fourteen. This rule, insisting on compulsory attendance, is now enforced in most civilized countries, because of the importance of having no one take part in the life of the community who has not had an adequate education. At present many people in Ontario feel that the age should be raised even higher than it is, but others say that when children have reached fourteen, they should be free to go to work if they so desire. In connection with these Public Schools, many of the large towns and cities have *Kindergartens* for the little ones, where they are given their first lessons in the form of games, singing, and other amusements. After the Public School comes the *High School*, which carries the pupil on for four or even five years more. On leaving this, he is ready to enter upon a profession, or to attend the university, or to embark in business. Attendance at the High School is optional. Some High Schools are free; at others a small fee is charged by the board of school trustees. The larger High Schools, which have a specially constituted staff, are known as *Collegiate Institutes*.

Recently it has been found that many pupils wish to do higher work than that of the Public School, but cannot afford to go to the nearest High School or Collegiate Institute. The Department of Education has therefore assisted in founding, in various parts of the province, a large number of *Continuation Schools*, in

which the pupils may study for one, two, or three years after completing the Public School Course of Study.

In a great province, such as Ontario, provision must be made for many different kinds of pupils. Thus in addition to the ordinary High Schools, we have Agricultural High Schools, Technical High Schools, etc. In some of the cities, Night Schools are held, where those who work during the day may continue their education if they so wish.

Training of Teachers.—Most of the teachers for the High Schools receive their professional training in the Faculties of Education of the University of Toronto and of Queen's University, which are aided for this purpose by the Provincial Government. Those for the Public Schools are for the most part trained in seven Normal Schools, situated at convenient centres through the province.

Separate Schools.—Persons of the Roman Catholic faith pay their school taxes for the upkeep of Separate Schools for children of their creed. These schools are subject to the regulations of the Department of Education, just as are the Public Schools, and their teachers must have the same qualifications. This right to Separate Schools was won by the Roman Catholics shortly before Confederation, after a long political fight. In the same way, in the province of Quebec, the Protestants have Separate Schools, and in the British North America Act it is laid down that no province may take away or curtail any rights enjoyed by law by a religious minority at the time of the passing of the Act.

Other Educational Institutions.—Many other schools and colleges in the province are supported or aided by the province. At Guelph the province supports an Agricultural College, which gives a scientific training in farming. Its good work is known all over North and

South America. Schools for the blind and for the deaf are also maintained at Brantford and at Belleville. There are also many private schools, of which the oldest and most celebrated is Upper Canada College in Toronto, founded by Sir John Colborne in 1829. For many years it was supported by the province, but is now a private institution.

Finance.—Although the larger part of the money spent upon the schools of the province is raised by the municipalities, grants are also made by the province. These are given in such a way as to inspire the municipalities to do their best. Within certain limits, the better equipped a school is and the higher the salary of the teacher, the larger is the provincial grant.

Universities.—After the High Schools come the Universities. Of these the largest in the province is the University of Toronto, which is supported by the province. Joined to it in a federal union are the Universities of Victoria and of Trinity. These have not ceased to exist; if union with the Provincial University did not suit them, they could resume their independence. But the union has thus far worked so well that there is no thought of separation. Queen's University at Kingston, to which is affiliated the Kingston School of Mining, the Western University at London, and Ottawa University are supported mainly by private generosity.

III. Federal

The Dominion.—Ever since 1867, Canadians have had a wider outlook than that of the citizens of a province. What are the chief terms of the British North America Act which united them into a Dominion?

1. **A Federal Union.**—Canada is a federation, or federal union, that is, a union in which the power does

not rest wholly with the central Parliament, but is in part retained by the provinces. Sir John Macdonald would have preferred a legislative union, such as that of Great Britain, where the central parliament has sovereign power, and can pass any law on any subject, but to this Lower Canada would not consent. The most successful federation then in the world was the United States, and "The Fathers of Confederation" therefore took certain points from it, but on the whole they were struck much more by its weaknesses than by its merits. At the time of their deliberations the American Civil War was just drawing to a close, a war brought on largely by the inability of the central government to control the states. Therefore, after giving certain powers to the provinces, the British North America Act gives to the central parliament the right to legislate on all other matters. With this provision we may contrast the later union of Australia, which has gone back to the United States plan of giving all, except stated powers, to the provinces.

2. **System of Government.**—The government of Canada is carried on by a Governor-general, an Executive Council, a Senate, and a House of Commons.

The Governor-general.—The Governor-general represents the Crown, and was at one time the real head of the administration. Now, like the British monarch, he acts only on the advice of his ministers; as has been said, he "reigns but does not govern." Can he be said still to play a part in our political life, or is his place in Canada merely social and ornamental?

(*a*) He is still the guardian of the interests of the Empire; it might still be necessary for him to veto a Bill or to reserve it for the King's pleasure. (*b*) His high position and his knowledge of world politics enable him to give advice of great value. Lord Elgin wrote:

"I believe that there is more room for the exercise of influence on the part of the Governor under my system than under any that ever was before devised, an influence, however, wholly moral, an influence of suasion, sympathy, and moderation which softens the temper while it elevates the aims of local politics."

(*c*) Now that the telephone and telegraph bind all the world together, any Canadian proposals which are disliked by the mother country are discussed over the cable or by Canadian delegations to London, so that the Governor's position as guardian of British interests has become less important. His indirect influence lessens as Canadians gain in political experience. When the Union was new the advice of a wise and prudent counsellor like Lord Elgin helped his ministers over many a stile; in the early days of Confederation the tact and skill of Lord Dufferin were invaluable; but though the Governor-general still represents the country before foreign nations in a way which the Prime Minister cannot do, the position is becoming of less significance in our political life.

The Senate.—The members of the Senate are chosen for life by the Governor-general, and as he acts only on the advice of his Cabinet, this really means by the Prime Minister. A Senator must be a British subject, at least thirty years of age, a resident in the province which he represents, and worth at least $4,000. The object of having a Senate in our Constitution is:

(*a*) To enable wise men appointed for life to amend the measures passed in the heated atmosphere of the House of Commons.

(*b*) To represent the provinces. In 1867 it contained twenty-four members from Ontario, twenty-four from Quebec, and twenty-four from the Maritime Provinces. Since then senators of varying number have been added

from the West, and the Senate now (1913) consists of eighty-seven members.

Unfortunately, men have too often been appointed to the Senate not because of their independent mind and strong character, but because of their services to the party in power. However, it contains many able men, and has from time to time passed useful amendments. But, on the whole, the Senate has been less valuable than was hoped for by "The Fathers of Confederation," and the question of its reconstruction, or even of its abolition, is frequently mooted.

The House of Commons.—The House of Commons is elected by voters, on the list of whom is now placed the name of almost every male inhabitant of the country who is a British subject, over twenty-one years of age, and of sound mind. Women, children, and idiots may not vote, and Indians only under certain restrictions. A general election must be held at least once in five years, and may be held whenever the Governor-general chooses. Representation is by population, Quebec having sixty-five members, and the number for the other provinces always bearing "the same proportion to the number of its population as the number sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec." A census is taken every ten years, and the number of members for the other provinces changed in accordance with their population, while that of Quebec always remains at sixty-five. The number for Quebec may indeed be increased, but only if that for the other provinces is increased in like proportion, but so far no attempt at any such change has been made.

Responsible Government.—But this parliament does not itself govern the country. The government, or administration, is conducted by an Executive Council, which is described in the British North America Act as "the Queen's Privy Council for Canada," but which is

usually known as the Cabinet. As we have seen, for many years the great struggle in Canada was to force this Council to govern in accordance with the will of the people, as expressed in the House of Commons. This problem was at last solved by the introduction of what is known as Responsible Government, by which the Governor-general chooses the members of his Cabinet exclusively from that party which has a majority in the House of Commons.

Though responsible government was what Canadians had long desired, though it was what was meant by the words in the British North America Act giving us "a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom," there is no explicit mention of it in the Act. We thus see that the Canadian constitution is not wholly written down, but like that of Great Britain depends on certain unwritten rules. There is nothing in the British North America Act compelling the Governor-general to choose his Cabinet from the party in the majority in the House of Commons. How then is the principle maintained? Simply because if the Governor-general were to try to break this rule, he would make all government impossible. The moment he chose an adviser not desired by the party in power, that moment the party would refuse him and his ministers supplies with which to carry on the government of the country, and the whole government would come to a standstill. Thus, though not a word is said in the Act about the principle, it is necessarily carried out.

A Cabinet has united responsibility. When the Cabinet has decided on the policy which it intends to pursue, every member of it must support that policy, or must resign. Its meetings are held in secret, and it is considered a very grave breach of trust for any member of it to reveal what has gone on behind those closed doors.

In the Cabinet the members may fight "like cat and dog," but when they have come to an agreement, every member must support it before the public. But while they thus combine to decide on a policy, each member of the Cabinet is put in charge of a certain department of the national work. We have in Canada at present eighteen Cabinet Ministers. The Prime Minister is their President, and is also Minister for External Affairs. There are also Ministers of Agriculture, Customs, Finance, Inland Revenue, the Interior, Justice, Labour, Marine and Fisheries, Militia and Defence, Mines, Public Works, Railways and Canals, a Postmaster-general, and a Secretary of State. The other Ministers are "without portfolio," which means that they have no special department to administer, but sit in the Cabinet to discuss general questions of policy. Each of the Ministers in charge of a department has under him a large number of clerks, and the Civil Service, as these clerks are called, includes at present over 11,000 persons, of whom over 4,000 are gathered at Ottawa.

The Party System.—There are in Canada two great historic parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals. Each of these is organized under a leader, and extends throughout the country, with branches, known usually as Associations, in every town and village. As we have seen, it is from the leaders of the majority in the House of Commons that the Ministers are chosen. The Members of Parliament of each party hold frequent meetings at Ottawa, known as Caucuses, at which the affairs of the party are discussed. It is at a Caucus that the leaders are selected, and that the declaration of principles, or platform of the party, is decided upon.

Disadvantages of the Party System.—Many men have said that this system of government is a bad one. (*a*) It forces the Governor-general to choose his Ministers

not from the whole country, but only from the majority. At a general election the country has to choose between two sets of Ministers. When in 1911 it turned out the Liberals, it had to turn out all of them. When it chose the Conservatives, it had to accept them all, good or bad. (*b*) Besides, the party system sets one part of the community to find fault with the actions of the other, leads to bad feeling, and makes us forget that the members of the other party are after all Canadians like ourselves, and are just as anxious as ourselves for the good of the country.

Advantages of the Party System.—All this is true; yet the system has great advantages.

(*a*) It ensures stability. Supported by a united party, a Minister is pretty sure to be in office long enough to learn his business. If he had to depend on the favour of dis-united individuals, or if there were half-a-dozen parties, there would be a succession of ministers, and permanence of policy and skill in administration would be impossible.

(*b*) A party extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To be a member of a party is to belong to something which is as wide as the Dominion. A member of a party must meet men from other provinces, must hear their point of view, must come to an agreement with them. Thus the two parties are forces making for the union of Canada.

The Working of Parliament.—The rules of procedure in parliament are so complicated that members have been known to make mistakes after years of study. But the general system is simple, and is the same in both the Federal and the Provincial parliaments. In the centre of the House sits an umpire, who interprets the rules. The curious thing about this officer is that though he is the one member who is supposed not to take part in any discussion, he is called the Speaker. The reason

for this title is that he is supposed to utter the collective will of the House, after it has come to a decision. The Speaker is usually chosen from the party in power, but once he has been selected he is expected to show the impartiality of a judge.

On either side of him sit the members, the party in the majority on his right, the opposition on his left. Usually the most important members have the front seats, but there is no rule about this.

Either a Senator or a Member of the House of Commons may introduce a bill on any subject, with one important exception. Any bill which involves the spending of money must be introduced into the House of Commons, and by a Member of the Cabinet. The reasons for this exception have been already given. Before being discussed, a bill is usually printed. In former days a bill had to be read to the House, and the word "read" is still used, but this does not now mean that anything more than the title of the printed bill is read. Upon its "first reading," a bill is usually passed without discussion, but this may be only the beginning of its troubles. Some days later it is read a second time, and discussed. If the principle of the bill is approved, it is referred to a Committee, usually a Committee of the Whole, that is, a Committee which any member is free to attend, or to a Standing, that is, a permanent Committee or to a Special Committee. Here it is again discussed, and may be amended. It is then reported to the House as amended and, if passed, it is at a later date read a third time and passed, usually without discussion. After it has passed through one House, it must then go through the same stages in the other. After it has passed through both Houses, it is ready for the signature of the Governor-general, on receiving which it becomes law. As we have seen, in old days this signature was often deferred or

refused; but to-day, if a bill has passed through both Houses, it is practically certain to become law.

The Closure.—Many bills go through all these stages with great rapidity. But if a bill is one on which there is much difference of opinion, the process takes more time. In the discussion on the readings, a member may speak only once, but in Committee he may speak as often as he wishes. In some cases, members who did not wish a bill to pass made speech after speech simply to delay its progress. During the Naval Debate of 1913 the Conservatives grew so angry at the Liberals for the length and number of their speeches, that they introduced and passed rules making it possible for the majority to bring on a vote whenever it wished. These rules, known as the Closure, make it much easier to get business done, and somewhat similar rules are in force in England and in France. On the other hand, such rules might be used to stop all debate, and freedom of discussion would disappear. They must therefore be used with great wisdom by the majority, and only in very special cases, or the remedy will be worse than the disease. So far the Closure has been found necessary only in the Federal House of Commons. It is not used in the Senate, or in any of the Provincial Legislatures.

Increasing Power of Cabinet.—The Cabinet contains the leaders of the party in power. Most men are so devoted to their party that they will desert it only for very unusual reasons. Hence in most cases the leaders decide on the policy, and the members are almost forced to carry it out. The Ministers also, owing to their control of the Civil Service, have many sources of information not open to the ordinary member, and the control of the Cabinet over Parliament is now very marked.

The Whips.—If a government is defeated in the

House of Commons, it must resign. In this case the Governor-general either calls on the other party to form a government, or dissolves the House, and there is a general election. The parties are now so strongly organized, and members vote so invariably with their party, that a government is almost never defeated in the House. Sometimes the opposition will try to "snatch a vote," that is, to hurry on a vote when most of the members of the party in power are absent from the House. To prevent this, each party has an officer, known as a Whip. His duties comprise an oversight over the whole organization of the party, but none of them is more important than that of watching the debates and seeing that, if a vote is likely to take place, he has enough members on hand to ensure the safety of the government.

Powers of Parliament.—Which of our affairs are controlled for us by the Dominion Parliament? In the British North America Act, twenty-nine different powers of the Federal, or Dominion, Parliament are enumerated. It has also, as we have seen, full power in Canada over all matters not expressly delegated to the Provincial Parliaments. Even here, if it thinks that the Province has over-stepped its power, it may "disallow" the provincial Act, if it does so within one year of receiving a copy of it. As the provinces watch with jealous eye any interference with what they consider their rights, it is obvious that this is a power which must be used very seldom. In important cases, however, it has been exercised, as in the case of a British Columbian Act, which by laying restrictions on Japanese immigration, would have brought the whole of Canada into trouble with Japan. More usually, however, the provinces are kept from exceeding their powers in another way.

Militia and Defence.—Wars are becoming less frequent. As countries grow more civilized, they settle

their disputes in many other and more sensible ways than by fighting. But even to-day every country must be able to defend itself, or it is in danger of being either conquered or bullied. Thus every country has need of soldiers. These may be either regulars, that is, men who earn their living by being soldiers, or militia, men who earn their living in other ways, but who give up a portion of their time to learn the art of war. Canada has a small permanent force in barracks at Halifax, Quebec, Kingston, Toronto, London, and Winnipeg. These regulars are, for the most part, employed in schools of military instruction, and assist in the training of the militia. For service in the militia all male citizens between eighteen and sixty are liable, but in time of peace service is voluntary. The Canadian Militia includes at present about fifty thousand men, who are trained on a certain number of days in the year.

Hitherto Canada has been protected at sea chiefly by the navy of Great Britain, and we have had comparatively little to pay for services which in Great Britain and in Europe are a terrible burden. Our small navy has been used chiefly for the defence and protection of the fisheries on the oceans and on the Great Lakes. But with our increase in population and prosperity there is coming the need of assuming further responsibility, and our expenditure on army and navy is increasing rapidly.

Trade, Commerce, Transportation.—The Government of Canada controls all trade and commerce, and all means of transportation which are of importance to more than one province. Railways are considered of such importance to the community that each new railway is given a gift, or subsidy, of several thousand dollars a mile, and the great transcontinental lines have been given special gifts of money and land worth many

millions. The country owns and operates the Intercolonial Railway (I.C.R.), running between Montreal, Halifax, and Sydney, and the Prince Edward Island Railway; it owns, but has leased to the Grand Trunk Pacific (G.T.P.), the National Transcontinental Railway, between Moncton and Winnipeg, and by its Railway Commission it controls all the rates of railways and express companies. We subsidize lines of steamships on the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. We have built a splendid canal system at a cost of many millions, and are constantly adding to it. To the Dominion are intrusted the care of harbours, lighthouses, quarantine, and all the other necessities of a country with a great and growing trade.

The Post-office.—All of us have friends at a distance. Business men have to correspond with the ends of the earth, and often write hundreds of letters a day. Hence, in all civilized countries the government has taken the delivery of letters out of the hands of private people, and itself administers the Post-office. Not only letters, but newspapers, books, and small parcels are sent in this way. In connection with the Post-office, the government of Canada also operates a savings bank, and a system of annuities whereby those who wish may make provision against old age.

Services very similar to those of the Post-office are given by the express companies, and by the telegraph and telephone companies. In some countries, such as Great Britain, these are also under the Post-office Department, but in Canada we have, so far, left them to private enterprise.

Miscellaneous.—Many other very important matters are administered or controlled by the Dominion. From it every company wishing to do business in more than one province must obtain a charter. In this way the

Dominion controls the organization of railways, banks, etc. All the Indians of Canada are under the care of the Dominion Parliament, and are considered its wards. The justice with which Canada had always treated these old lords of the soil has saved us from the terrible wars which have cost other countries so much blood and money. Our external, or foreign affairs, are also under the Dominion. It alone can deal directly with foreign nations. It is thus impossible for one province to get the whole country into trouble.

Finance.—How is the money obtained for these and other services?

(*a*) From customs dues. These are imposed on many articles coming in from other countries. Now that Canada is growing so fast, the amount that we are able to buy from our neighbours is increasing by leaps and bounds. In 1912 Canada imported over $600,000,000 worth of goods, on which duties were paid of over $115,000,000.

(*b*) From the excise. This is a tax levied upon beer and other intoxicating liquors, tobacco, and certain other articles, produced within the country.

(*c*) From licenses of various kinds.

(*d*) From the revenue of the Post-office, and other public works, such as the Intercolonial Railway.

Canadian Debt.—Yet, large as is our revenue, at times there are expenses so great that we are forced to borrow money. We had to borrow many millions to aid in building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and shall have to borrow largely to complete the National Transcontinental Railway. The National Debt of Canada is at present about $310,000,000, a much smaller amount in proportion to our total wealth than we owed twenty years ago. In 1912 our prosperity was so great that we were able to pay off several millions.

Administration of Justice.—The relations between the provinces and the Dominion in the constitution and administration of courts of justice are very intricate, but the general lines laid down in the British North America Act are fairly clear. With certain unimportant exceptions the Dominion Government appoints and pays all Judges of the Superior, District, and County Courts, even though the laws which they are to administer are in part those of the province. This arrangement has not always satisfied the provinces, and several of them have at different times passed laws attempting to lay down the qualifications which judges must possess, to supplement salaries, etc. Most, though not all, of such laws have been disallowed by the Dominion, and while in the main our judicial system works very well indeed, there is still some uncertainty and a little jangling over details.

So strongly is it felt that a judge must be independent and able to give judgment without fear or favour, that he can be removed from office only by a joint address of the two Houses of the Canadian Parliament, a form of procedure never carried out since Confederation. This has sometimes meant the continuance in office of inadequate judges, but it has saved us from decisions given in order to curry favour with the government or with the people, an evil which is prevalent in many courts of the United States.

By the British North America Act the Dominion is also given power to establish a Supreme Court of Appeal, and "additional courts for the better administration of the laws of Canada." Such a Supreme Court was established at Ottawa in 1875, and several other additional courts have been set up at various times and places.

IV. Imperial

The King.—But Canada is not an independent nation. She forms part of the world-wide British Empire. At the very beginning of the British North America Act the Dominion is placed "under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." King George V is our King, just as fully as he is of Great Britain, and his official title is "King of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the seas." In Canada he is represented by the Governor-general.

British Control.—During the nineteenth century, much of our history consisted in the process by which we were gradually granted by Great Britain the right to manage our local affairs. In certain matters, however, we are still under control.

1. Our constitution, in so far as it has been written down, is embodied in the British North America Act, and its amendments. These amendments can be passed only by the British Parliament, the author of the original Act, so that Canada has not yet the full right of changing her own constitution. Nor is it certain that in this respect the Parliament of Canada would get its own way by merely asking the Parliament of Great Britain to pass the desired amendment; for were this one to which any Provincial Legislature were strongly opposed, the British Parliament might possibly refuse its consent. This would create a very awkward situation, but so far no such dilemma has occurred.

2. All our diplomatic relations with foreign powers, such as those which led up to the Alaska Boundary Treaty, are carried on by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and by British Ambassadors. The reason for this is that the power of declaring peace and war still rests with the Crown, acting on the advice of

its British Ministers. So, too, does the power of making political treaties with foreign nations, though in commercial matters we are allowed to negotiate for ourselves, usually under the nominal supervision of the British Government.

The Privy Council.—British connection is also maintained by our having accepted the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council as our final Court of Appeal. To this body many of our most important cases are referred. It has also been important in determining the meaning of the British North America Act. In any federation the border line between the powers of the Dominion and of the provinces is hard to draw, and in Canada has usually been decided by an appeal to the Judicial Committee. This body consists of a number of judges, of whom, for many years, the ablest and most influential was Lord Watson. His judgments on disputed points were steadily in favour of preserving and even of strengthening the powers of the provinces.

The Imperial Conference.—The struggle for responsible government did not imply in those who waged it a desire for political independence. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, it was felt that we could make closer our connection with the mother country without giving up the smallest fraction of our autonomy. Hence the Imperial Conference has grown up, and is held in London every four years. At this the Prime Minister of Great Britain presides, and the Prime Ministers of all the self-governing colonies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, discuss with him and with one another the affairs of the Empire. This Conference meets only to discuss, and has no power to bind any part of the Empire to any line of action. But it gives to each part a knowledge of the other parts, which enables us to frame our course of action in accordance with

the needs of the whole. Great Britain has also founded a Committee of Imperial Defence, on which there is at least one Canadian representative. In these and other ways our partnership in the Empire is being recognized.

Conclusion.—Thus every Canadian is at once a citizen of a municipality, of a province, of a Dominion, and of an Empire. We must all love the municipality in which we live, whether it be township, village, town, or city. As a great Irishman, Edmund Burke, once said: "To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle (the germ, as it were) of public affections." But we must love our municipality as part of a province, whether it be a province rich in historic memories, or the creation of yesterday with its history still to make. We must love the province as part of our native land,

> . . . "till all the nations know
> Us for a patriot people, heart and hand,
> Loyal to our native heath, our native land."

And beyond even Canada we must love the world-wide Empire of whose people an English poet has said:

> We sailed wherever ship could sail,
> We founded many a mighty state.
> Pray God our greatness may not fail
> Through craven fear of being great!

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Fāte, făr, fat, fall; mē, met, hér; pine, pin; nōte, not, mŏve; tūbe, tub, bull; ü, Fr. u; ñ, Fr. ton.

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Roses are red
Violets are blue
Sale a man
when his rent falls due.

Roses are red
Violets are blue
I can row a boat—
canoe?

Jean Harden